A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV.

By GEORGE ANSON, Esq.

(LATE LORD ANSON)

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas.

Compiled from his Papers and Materials,

BY *RICHARD WALTER*, M. A.

Chaplain of the Ship the CENTURION, in that Expedition.

VOLUME I.

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TO HIS GRACE

JOHN

Duke of BEDFORD, Marquis of TAVISTOCK, Earl of BEDFORD,

One of his Majeſty's Principal Secretataries of State, and

Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of Bedford.

MY LORD,

THE following Narrative of a very ſingular naval atchievement is addreſſed to your GRACE, both on account of the infinite obligations which the Commander in Chief, at all times, profeſſes to have received from your

friendſhip; and alſo, as the ſubject itſelf naturally claims the patronage of one under whoſe direction the Britiſh navy has reſumed its ancient ſpirit and luſtre, and has in one ſummer ennobled itſelf by two victories, the moſt deciſive, (and if the ſtrength and number of the captures be conſidered) the moſt important that are to be met with in our annals. Indeed, an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs, and a manifeſt ſuperiority gained univerſally over the enemy, both in commerce and glory, ſeem to be the neceſſary effects of a revival of ſtrict diſcipline and of an unbiaſſed regard to merit and ſervice. Theſe are marks that muſt diſtinguiſh the happy period of time in which your GRACE preſided, and afford us a fitter ſubject for hiſtory, than for an addreſs of this nature. Very ſignal advantages of rank and diſtinction, obtained and ſecured to the naval profeſſion by your GRACE's auſpicious influence, will remain a laſting monument of your unwearied zeal and atachment to it, and be for ever remembered with the higheſt gratitude by all who ſhall be employed in it. As theſe were the generous rewards of paſt exploits, they will be likewiſe the nobleſt incentives,

centives, and ſureſt pledges of the future. That your GRACE's eminent talents, magnanimity, and diſintereſted zeal, whence the public has already reaped ſuch ſignal benefits, may in all times prove equally ſucceſsful in advancing the proſperity of Great-Britain, is the ardent wiſh of,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's

Moſt obedient,

Moſt devoted,

AND

Moſt humble ſervant,

RICHARD WALTER.

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INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great improvements of navigation within the laſt two centuries, a voyage round the world is ſtill conſidered as an enterprize of ſo very ſingular a nature, that the Public have never failed to be extremely inquiſitive about the various accidents and turns of fortune with which this uncommon attempt is generally attended; and though the amuſement expected in theſe narrations is doubtleſs one great ſource of that curioſity, with the bulk of readers, yet the more intelligent part of mankind have always agreed, that, from accounts of this nature, if faithfully executed, the more important purpoſes of navigation, commerce, and national intereſt, may be greatly promoted; for the authentic deſcription of foreign coaſts and countries, will ever contribute to one or more of theſe great ends, in proportion to the wealth, wants, or commodities of thoſe countries, and our ignorance of thoſe coaſts. And therefore a voyage round the world promiſes a ſpecies of information of all others the moſt deſirable and intereſting, ſince great part of it is performed in ſeas with which we are as yet but very imperfectly acquainted, and in the neighbourhood of a country renowned for the abundance of its wealth, though it is at the ſame time ſtigmatized for its poverty in the neceſſaries and conveniencies of a civilized life.

Theſe conſiderations have occaſioned the compiling the enſuing Work, which, in gratifying the inquiſitive diſpoſition of mankind, and contributing to the

ſafety and ſucceſs of future navigators, and to the extenſion of our commerce and power, may doubtleſs vie with any narration of this kind hitherto made public: Since, as to the firſt of theſe heads, it may be well ſuppoſed that the general curioſity hath been ſtrongly excited, by the circumſtances of this undertaking already known to the world. For whether we conſider the force of the ſquadron ſent on this ſervice, or the diverſified diſtreſſes that each ſingle ſhip was ſeparately involved in, or the uncommon inſtances of varying fortune which attended the whole enterprize; each of theſe articles, I conceive, muſt, from its rude, well-known outlines, appear worthy of a completer and more finiſhed delineation. And if this be allowed with reſpect to the narrative part of the Work, there can be no doubt about the more uſeful and inſtructive parts, which are almoſt every where interwoven with it; for I can venture to affirm, without fear of being contradicted on a compariſon, that no voyage hitherto publiſhed, furniſhes ſuch a number of views of land foundings, draughts of roads and ports, charts, and other materials for the improvement of geography and navigation, as are contained in the enſuing volumes; which are the more valuable, too, as the greateſt part of them relate to ſuch iſlands or coaſts as have been hitherto not at all, or erroneouſly, deſcribed, and where the want of ſufficient and authentic information might occaſion future enterprizes to prove abortive, perhaps with the deſtruction of the ſhips and men employed therein.

And beſides the number and choice of theſe marine drawings and deſcriptions, there is another very eſſential circumſtance, belonging to them, which much enhances their worth, and that is, the great accuracy with which they were executed. I ſhall expreſs my opinion of them in this particular very imperfectly, when I ſay that they are not exceeded, and perhaps

not equalled, by any thing of this nature which has as yet been communicated to the world: for they were not copied from the works of others, or compoſed at home from imperfect accounts given by incurious and unſkilful obſervers, (a practice too frequent in theſe matters): but the greateſt part of them were delineated on the ſpot, with the utmoſt exactneſs, by the direction, and under the eye of Mr Anſon himſelf; and where (as is the caſe of three or four of them) they have been done by leſs ſkilful hands, or were found in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, and conſequently their juſtneſs could be leſs relied on, I have always taken care to appriſe the reader of it, and to put him on his guard againſt giving entire credit to them; although I doubt not but theſe leſs authentic draughts, thus cautiouſly inſerted, are to the full as correct as thoſe which are uſually publiſhed on theſe occaſions. For as actual ſurveys of roads and harbours, and nice and critical delineations of views of land, take up much time and attention, and require a good degree of ſkill, both in planning and drawing, thoſe who are defective in induſtry and ability ſupply theſe wants by bold conjectures and fictitious deſcription; and as they can be no otherways confuted than by going on the ſpot, and running the riſk of ſuffering by their miſinformation, they have no apprehenſions of being detected: and therefore when they obtrude their ſuppoſititious productions on the Public, they make no conſcience of boaſting, at the ſame time, with how much ſkill and care they are performed. But let not thoſe who are unaquainted with naval affairs imagine, that impoſitions of this kind, are of an innocent nature; for, as exact views of land are the ſureſt guide to a ſeaman, on a coaſt where he has never been before, all fictions, in ſo intereſting a matter, muſt be attended with numerous

dangers, and ſometimes with the deſtruction of thoſe who are thus unhappily deceived.

Beſides theſe draughts of ſuch places as Mr Anſon, or the ſhips under his command, have touched at in the courſe of this expedition, and the deſcriptions and directions relating thereto, there is inſerted, in the enſuing Work, an ample account, with a chart annexed to it, of a particular navigation, of which, hitherto, little more than the name has been known, except to thoſe immediately employed in it; I mean the tract deſcribed by the Manilla ſhip, in her paſſage to Acapulco, through the northern part of the Pacific ocean. This material article is collected from the draughts and journals met with on board the Manilla galeon, founded on the experience of more than a hundred and fifty years practice, and corroborated, in its principal circumſtance, by the concurrent evidence of all the Spaniſh priſoners taken in that veſſel. And as many of their journals, which I have examined, appear to have been not ill kept, I preſume the chart of that northern ocean, and the particulars of their route through it, may be very ſafely relied on by future navigators. The advantages which may be drawn from an exact knowledge of this navigation, and the beneficial projects that may be formed thereon, both in war and peace, are by no means proper to be diſcuſſed in this place; but they will eaſily offer themſelves to the ſkilful in maritime affairs. However, as the Manilla ſhips are the only ones which have ever traverſed this vaſt ocean, except a French ſtraggler or two, which have been afterwards ſeized on the coaſt of Mexico; and as, during near two ages, in which this trade has been carried on, the Spaniards have, with the greateſt care, ſecreted all accounts of their voyages from the reſt of the world; theſe reaſons alone would authorize the inſertion of thoſe papers, and would recommend them to the in-

quiſitive, as a very great improvement in geography, and worthy of attention, from the ſingularity of many circumſtances therein recited. I muſt add, too, (what in my opinion is far from being the leaſt recommendation of theſe materials) that the obſervations of the variation of the compaſs, in that ocean, which are laid down in the chart from theſe Spaniſh journals, tend greatly to complete the general ſyſtem of the magnetic variation, of infinite import to the commercial and ſea-faring part of mankind. Theſe obſervations were, though in vain, often publicly called for by our learned countryman, the late Dr Halley, and to his immortal reputation, they confirm, as far as they extend, the wonderful hypotheſis he had entertained on this head, and very nearly correſpond in their quantity to the predictions he publiſhed above fifty years ſince, long before he was acquainted with any one obſervation made in thoſe ſeas. The aſcertaining the variation in that part of the world is juſt now, too, of more than ordinary conſequence, as the editors of a new variation-chart, lately publiſhed, have, for want of proper information, been miſled by an erroneous analogy, and have miſtaken the very ſpecies of variation in that northern ocean; for they make it weſterly where it is eaſterly, and have laid it down 120 or 130 degrees different from its real quantity.

Thus much it has been thought neceſſary to premiſe, with regard to the hydrographical and geographical part of the enſuing Work; which, it is hoped, the reader will, on peruſal, find much ampler, and more important, than this ſlight ſketch can well explain: but as there are hereafter occaſionally interſperſed ſome accounts of Spaniſh tranſactions, and many obſervations relating to the diſpoſition of the American Spaniards, and to the condition of the countries bordering on the South Seas; and as here-

in I may appear to differ greatly from the opinions generally eſtabliſhed, I think it behoves me particularly to recite the authorities I have been guided by in theſe matters, that I may not be cenſured as having given way, either to a thoughtleſs credulity on one hand, or, what would be a much more criminal imputation, to a wilful and deliberate miſrepreſentation on the other.

Mr Anſon, before he ſet ſail upon this expedition, beſides the printed journals to thoſe parts, took care to furniſh himſelf with the beſt manuſcript-accounts he could procure of all the Spaniſh ſettlements upon the coaſts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico: theſe he carefully compared with the examinations of his priſoners, and the informations of ſeveral intelligent perſons, who fell into his hands in the South Seas. He had likewiſe the good fortune, in ſome of his captures, to poſſeſs himſelf of a great number of letters and papers of a public nature, many of them written by the Viceroy of Peru to the Viceroy of Santa Fee, to the Preſidents of Panama and Chili, to Don Blaſs de Lezo, admiral of the galeons, and to divers others perſons in conſiderable employments: And in theſe letters there was uſually inſerted a recital of thoſe they were intended to anſwer; ſo that they contained no ſmall part of the correſpondence between thoſe officers for ſome time previous to our arrival on that coaſt. We took, beſides, many letters ſent from perſons intruſted by the Spaniſh government to their friends and correſpondents, which were frequently filled with narrations of public buſineſs, and ſometimes contained undiſguiſed animadverſions on the views and conduct of their ſuperiors. From theſe materials thoſe accounts of the Spaniſh affairs are drawn, which may, at firſt ſight, appear the moſt exceptionable. In particular, the hiſtory of the various caſualities which befel Pizarro's ſquadron, is,

for the moſt part, compoſed from intercepted letters; though indeed the relation of the inſurrection of Orellana, and his followers, is founded on rather a leſs diſputable authority; for it was taken from the mouth of an Engliſh gentleman, then on board Pizarro, who often converſed with Orellana; and it was, upon inquiry, confirmed in its principal circumſtances by others who were in the ſhip at the ſame time: ſo that the fact, however extraordinary, is, I conceive, not to be conteſted.

And on this occaſion I cannot but mention that, though I have endeavoured, with my utmoſt care, to adhere ſtrictly to truth in every article of the enſuing narration; yet I am apprehenſive that in ſo complicated a Work, ſome overſights muſt have been committed, by the inattention to which, at times, all mankind are liable. However, I am, as yet, conſcious of none but literal and inſignificant miſtakes; and if there are others more conſiderable which have eſcaped me, I flatter myſelf they are not of moment enough to affect any material tranſaction; and therefore, I hope, they may juſtly claim the reader's indulgence.

After this general account of the enſuing Work, it might be expected, perhaps, that I ſhould proceed to the Work itſelf; but I cannot finiſh this Introduction without adding a few reflections on a matter very dearly connected with the preſent ſubject, and, as I conceive, neither deſtitute of utility, nor unworthy the attention of the Public; I mean the animating my countrymen, both in the public and private ſtations, to the encouragement and purſuit of all kinds of geographical and nautical obſervations, and of every ſpecies of mechanical and commercial information. It is by a ſettled attachment to theſe ſeemingly minute particulars, that our ambitious neighbours have eſtabliſhed ſome part of that power with which we

are now ſtruggling: and as we have the means in our hands of purſuing theſe ſubjects more effectually than they can, it would be a diſhonour to us longer to neglect ſo eaſy and beneficial a practice. For as we have a navy much more numerous than theirs, great part of which is always employed in very diſtant nations, either in the protection of our colonies and commerce, or in aſſiſting our allies againſt the common enemy; this gives us frequent opportunities of furniſhing ourſelves with ſuch kind of materials as are here recommended, and ſuch as might turn greatly to our advantage either in war or peace; ſince, not to mention what might be expected from the officers of the navy, if their application to theſe ſubjects was properly encouraged, it would create no new expence to the Government to eſtabliſh a particular regulation for this purpoſe, as all that would be requiſite would be, conſtantly to embark on board ſome of our men of war, which are ſent on theſe diſtant cruiſes, a perſon who, with the character of an engineer, and the ſkill and talents neceſſary to that profeſſion, ſhould be employed in drawing ſuch coaſts and planning ſuch harbours, as the ſhip ſhould touch at, and in making ſuch other obſervations of all kinds, as might either prove of advantage to future navigators, or might any ways tend to promote the public ſervice. Perſons habituated to theſe operations (which could not fail at the ſame time of improving them in their proper buſineſs) would be extremely uſeful in many other lights, beſides thoſe already mentioned, and might tend to ſecure our fleets from thoſe diſgraces with which their attempts, againſt places on ſhore, have been often attended. And in a nation like ours, where all ſciences are more eagerly and univerſally purſued, and better underſtood than in any other part of the world, proper ſubjects for theſe employments could not long be wanting, if

due encouragement were given to them. This method, here recommended, is known to have been frequently practiſed by the French, particularly in the inſtance of Monſ. Frezier, an engineer who has publiſhed a celebrated voyage to the South Seas: for this perſon in the year 1711, was purpoſely ſent by the French King into that country, on board a merchantman, that he might examine and deſcribe the coaſt, and take plans of all the fortified places, the better to enable the French to proſecute their illicit trade, or, on a rupture between them and the court of Spain, to form their enterpriſes, in thoſe ſeas, with more readineſs and certainty. Should we purſue this method, we might hope, that the emulation amongſt thoſe who were commiſſioned for theſe undertakings, and the experience which, even in the moſt peaceable intervals, they would hereby acquire, might at length procure us a proper number of able engineers, and might efface the national ſcandal which our deficiency in that ſpecies of men has ſometimes expoſed us to. And ſurely every ſtep to encourage and improve them is of great moment to the Public; as no perſons, when they are properly inſtructed, make better returns in war, for the diſtinctions and emoluments beſtowed on them in time of peace: of which the advantages the French have reaped from their dexterity (too numerous and recent to be ſoon forgot) are an ample confirmation.

And having mentioned engineers, or ſuch as are ſkilled in drawing, and the other uſual practices of that profeſſion, as the propereſt perſons to be employed in theſe foreign inquiries, I cannot, (as it offers itſelf ſo naturally to the ſubject in hand) but lament how very imperfect many of our accounts of diſtant countries are rendered by the relators being unſkilled in drawing, and in the general principles of ſurveying, even where other abilities have not been

wanting. Had more of our travellers been initiated in theſe acquirements, and had there been added thereto ſome little ſkill in the common aſtronomical obſervations, (all which a perſon of ordinary talents might attain, with a very moderate ſhare of application,) we ſhould, by this time, have ſeen the geography of the globe much correcter than we now find it; the dangers of navigation would have been conſiderably leſſened; and the manners, arts, and produce of foreign countries would have been better known to us than they are. Indeed, when I conſider the ſtrong incitements that all travellers have to purſue ſome part at leaſt of theſe qualifications, eſpecially drawing; when I conſider how much it will facilitate their obſervations, aſſiſt and ſtrengthen their memories, and of how tedious, and often unintelligible a load of deſcription it would rid them; I cannot but wonder that any perſon, who intends to viſit diſtant countries, with a view of informing either himſelf or others, ſhould be wanting in ſo neceſſary a piece of ſkill. And, to enforce this argument ſtill further, I muſt add, that beſides the uſes of drawing already mentioned, there is one which, though not ſo obvious, is yet, perhaps, of more conſequence than all that has been hitherto urged; I mean the ſtrength and diſtinguiſhing power it adds to ſome of our faculties. This appears from thence, that thoſe who are uſed to draw objects, obſerve them with more accuracy than others who are not habituated to that practice: For we may eaſily find, by a little experience, that when we view any object, however ſimple, our attention or memory is ſcarcely, at any time, ſo ſtrong, as to enable us, when we have turned our eyes away from it, to recollect, exactly, every part it conſiſted of, and to recall all the circumſtances of its appearance; ſince, on examination, it will be diſcovered, that in ſome we were

miſtaken, and others we had totally overlooked; but he that is accuſtomed to draw what he ſees, is at the ſame accuſtomed to rectify this inattention; for, by confronting his ideas copied on the paper, with the object he intended to repreſent, he finds what circumſtances has deceived him in its appearance; and hence he, at length acquires the habit of obſerving much more at one view, and retains what he ſees with more correctneſs, than he could ever have done without his practice and proficiency in drawing.

If what has been ſaid merits the attention of travellers of all ſorts, it is, I think more particularly applicable to the gentlemen of the navy; ſince, without drawing and planning, neither charts nor views of land can be taken; and without theſe it is ſufficiently evident that navigation is at a full ſtand. It is doubtleſs from a perſuaſion of the utility of theſe qualifications, that his Majeſty has eſtabliſhed a drawing maſter at Portſmouth, for the inſtruction of thoſe who are preſumed to be hereafter intruſted with the command of the royal navy. And though ſome have been ſo far miſled, as to ſuppoſe that the perfection of ſea-officers conſiſted in a turn of mind and temper reſembling the boiſterous element they had to deal with, and have condemned all literature and ſcience as effeminate, and derogatory to that ferocity, which they would falſely perſuade us, was the moſt unerring characteriſtic of courage; yet it is to be hoped, that ſuch abſurdities as theſe have at no time been authoriſed by the public opinion, and that the belief of them daily diminiſhes. If thoſe who adhere to theſe miſchievous poſitions were capable of being influenced by reaſon, or ſwayed by example, I obſerve, that the moſt valuable drawings, referred to in the following Work, though done with ſuch a degree of ſkill, that even profeſſed artiſts can with difficulty imitate them, were taken by Mr Piercy Brett, one of Mr Anſon's

lieutenants, and ſince captain of the Lion man of war; who, in his memorable engagement with the Elizabeth, (for the importance of his ſervice, or the reſolution with which it was conducted, inferior to none this age has ſeen) had given ample proof, that a proficiency in the arts I have been here recommending, is extremely conſiſtent with the moſt exemplary bravery, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſkill in every function belonging to the duty of a ſea officer. Indeed when the many branches of ſcience are attended to, of which even the common practice of navigation is compoſed, and the many improvements which men of ſkill have added to this practice within theſe few years; it would induce one to believe, that the advantages of reflection and ſpeculative knowledge were in no profeſſion more eminent than in that of a ſea-officer. For, not to mention ſome expertneſs in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy, which it would be diſhonourable for him to be without, (as his journal and his eſtimate of the daily poſition of the ſhip, are founded on particular branches of theſe arts) it may well be ſuppoſed, that the management and working of a ſhip, the diſcovery of her moſt eligible poſition in the water, (uſually ſtyled her trim) and the diſpoſition of her ſails in the moſt advantageous manner, are articles wherein the knowledge of mechanics cannot but be greatly aſſiſtant. And perhaps the application of this kind of knowledge, to naval ſubjects, may produce as great improvments in ſailing and working a ſhip, as it has already done in many other matters conducive to the eaſe and convenience of human life: ſince when the fabric of a ſhip, and the variety of her ſails, are conſidered, together with the artificial contrivances for adapting them to her different motions, as it cannot be doubted but theſe things have been brought about by more than ordinary ſagacity and invention; ſo neither can

it be doubted but that, in ſome conjectures, a ſpeculative and ſcientific turn of mind may find out the means of directing and diſpoſing this complicated mechaniſm, much more advantageouſly than can be done by mere habit, or by a ſervile copying of what others may perhaps have erroneouſly practiſed in ſimilar emergencies. But it is time to finiſh this digreſſion, and to leave the reader to the peruſal of the enſuing Work; which, with how little art ſoever it may be executed, will yet, from the importance of the ſubject, and the utility and excellency of the materials, merit ſome ſhare of the public attention.

[*As this edition is intended for more ordinary readers, and to be furniſhed at a ſmall expence, the Maps and Charts are not inſerted. Beſides, in moſt modern Maps, Commodore Anſon's tract is particularly delineated.*]

A

VOYAGE

ROUND

THE WORLD.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the equipment of the ſquadron; and the incidents relating thereto, from its firſt appointment to its ſetting ſail from St Helens.

THE Squadron under the command of Mr Anſon (of which I here propoſe to recite the moſt material proceedings) having undergone many changes in its deſtination, its force, and its equipment, during the ten months between its original appointment and its final ſailing from St Helen's, I conceive the hiſtory of theſe alterations is a detail neceſſary to be made public, both for the honour of thoſe who firſt planned and promoted this enterprize, and for the juſtification of thoſe who have been entruſted with its execution: ſince it will from hence appear, that the accidents the expedition was afterwards expoſed to, and which prevented it from producing all the national advantages the ſtrength of the ſquadron, and the expectation of the public, ſeemed to preſage, were principally owing to a ſeries of interruptions which

delayed the commander in the courſe of his preparations, and which it exceeded his utmoſt induſtry either to avoid or to get removed.

When, in the latter end of the ſummer of the year 1739, it was foreſeen that a war with Spain was inevitable, it was the opinion of ſome conſiderable perſons, then intruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs, that the moſt prudent ſtep the nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was attacking that crown in her diſtant ſettlements; for, by this means (as at that time there was the greateſt probability of ſucceſs) it was ſuppoſed that we ſhould cut off the principal reſources of the enemy, and ſhould reduce them to the neceſſity of ſincerely deſiring a peace, as they would hereby be deprived of the returns of that treaſure, by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.

In purſuance of theſe ſentiments, ſeveral projects were examined, and ſeveral reſolutions were taken by the Council; and, in all theſe deliberations, it was from the firſt determined, that George Anſon, Eſq; then Captain of the Centurion, ſhould be employed as commander in chief of an expedition of this kind; and he, at that time, being abſent on a cruize, a veſſel was diſpatched to his ſtation, ſo early as the beginning of September, to order him to return with his ſhip to Portſmouth. And ſoon after he came there, that is, on the 10th of November following, he received a letter from Sir Charles Wager, directing him to repair to London, and to attend the Board of Admiralty; where, when he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles, that two ſquadrons would be immediately fitted out for two ſecret expeditions, which however would have ſome connection with each other: That he, Mr Anſon, was intended to command one of them, and Mr Cornwall (who hath ſince loſt his life glorioufly in the defence of his

country's honour) the other: That the ſquadron under Mr Anſon, was to take on board three independent companies, of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot: That Colonel Bland was likewiſe to embark with his regiment, and to command the land forces; and that, as ſoon as this ſquadron could be fitted for the ſea, they were to ſet ſail with expreſs orders to touch at no place till they came to Java Head in the Eaſt Indies: That they were only to ſtop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manilla, ſituated on Luconia, one of the Philippine iſlands: That the other ſquadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr Anſon, and was intended to paſs round Cape Horn into the South Seas, to range along that coaſt; and, after cruizing upon the enemy in thoſe parts, and, atempting their ſettlements, this ſquadron, in its return, was to rendezvous at Manilla, there to join the ſquadron under Mr Anſon, where they were to refreſh their men and refit their ſhips, and perhaps receive orders, for other conſiderable enterprizes.

This ſcheme was doubtleſs extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the public ſervice, and the reputation and fortune of thoſe concerned in its execution. For had Mr Anſon proceeded for Manilla at the time, and in the manner propoſed by Sir Charles Wager, he would, in all probability, have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and Spain, and conſequently before they had been in the leaſt prepared for the reception of an enemy, or had any apprehenſions of their danger. The city of Manilla might be well ſuppoſed to have been at that time in the ſame defenceleſs condition with all the other Spaniſh ſettlements, juſt at the breaking out of the war; that is to ſay, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed, their cannon diſmounted, or rendered uſeleſs, by the

mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, whether of military ſtores or proviſions all empty; their garriſons unpaid, and conſequently thin, ill affected, and diſpirited; and the royal cheſts in Peru, whence alone all theſe diſorders could receive their redreſs, drained to the very bottom. This, from the intercepted letters of their viceroys and governors, is well known to have been the defenceleſs ſtate of Panama, and the other Spaniſh places on the coaſt of the South Sea, for near a twelvemonth after our declaration of war: And it cannot be ſuppoſed that the city of Manilla, removed ſtill farther by almoſt half the circumference of the globe, ſhould have experienced from the Spaniſh government a greater ſhare of attention and concern for its ſecurity than Panama, and the other important ports in Peru and Chili, on which their poſſeſſion of that immenſe empire depends. Indeed, it is well known that Manilla was at that time incapable of making any conſiderable defence, and in all probability, would have ſurrendered only on the appearance of our ſquadron before it. The conſequence of this city, and the iſland it ſtands on, may be, in ſome meaſure, eſtimated, from the known healthineſs of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extenſive and beneficial commerce which it carries on to the principal ports in the Eaſt Indies and China, and its excluſive trade to Acapulco; the returns for which being made in ſilver, are, upon the loweſt valuation, not leſs than three millions of dollars *per annum*.

On this ſcheme Sir Charles Wager was ſo intent, that in a few days after his firſt conference, that is, on November 18, Mr Anſon received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal ſloop; and other orders were iſſued to him in the ſame month, and in December follow-

ing, relating to the victualing of this ſquadron. But Mr Anſon attending the Admiralty the beginning of January, he was informed by Sir Charles Wager, that for reaſons, with which he, Sir Charles, was not acquainted, the expedition to Manilla was laid aſide. It may be conceived that Mr Anſon was extremely chagrined at the loſing the command of ſo infallible, ſo honourable, and in every reſpect, ſo deſirable an enterprize, eſpecially too, as he had already, at a very great expence, made the neceſſary proviſion for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reaſon to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir Charles, to render this diſappointment, in ſome degree, more tolerable, informed him, that the expedition to the South Seas was ſtill intended, and that he, Mr Anſon, and his ſquadron, as their firſt deſtination was now countermanded, ſhould be employed in that ſervice. And on the 10th of January he received his commiſſion, appointing him commander in chief of the afore-mentioned ſquadron, which (the Argyle being, in the courſe of their preparation, changed for the Glouceſter) was the ſame he ſailed with, above eight months after, from St Helen's. On this change of deſtination, the equipment of the ſquadron was ſtill proſecuted with as much vigour as ever, and the victualling, and whatever depended on the Commodore, was ſoon ſo far advanced, that he conceived the ſhips might be capable of putting to ſea the inſtant he ſhould receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. And, at laſt, on the 28th of June 1740, the Duke of Newcaſtle, principal ſecretary of ſtate, delivered to him his Majeſty's inſtructions, dated January 31. 1739, with an additional inſtruction from the Lords Juſtices, dated June 19. 1740. On the receipt of theſe, Mr Anſon immediately repaired to Spithead, with a reſolution to

ſail with the firſt fair wind, flattering himſelf that all his difficulties were now at an end. For though he knew by the muſters, that his ſquadron wanted three hundred ſeamen of their complement, (a deficiency which, with all his aſſiduity, he had not been able to get ſupplied) yet as Sir Charles Wager informed him, that an order from the Board of Admiralty was diſpatched to Sir John Norris, to ſpare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of its being complied with. But, on his arrival at Portſmouth, he found himſelf greatly miſtaken, and diſappointed in this perſuaſion; for on his application, Sir John Norris told him he could ſpare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occaſioned an inevitable, and very conſiderable delay; for it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means ſupplied; and all that was then done was extemely ſhort of his neceſſities and expectation. For Admiral Balchen, who ſucceeded to the command at Spithead, after Sir John Norris had ſailed to the weſtward, inſtead of three hundred able ſailors, which Mr Anſon wanted of his complement, ordered on board the ſquadron a hundred and ſeventy men only; of which thirty-two were from the hoſpital and ſick quarters, thirty-ſeven from the Saliſbury, with three officers from Colonel Lowther's regiment, and ninety-eight marines, and theſe were all that were ever granted to make up the fore-mentioned deficiency.

But the Commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already obſerved, that it was at firſt intended, that Colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies of a hundred men each, ſhould embark as land-forces on board the ſquadron. But this diſpoſition was now changed, and all the land forces that were to be allowed, were five hundred invalids to be collected from the out-penſioners

of Chelſea-college. As theſe out-penſioners conſiſt of ſoldiers, who, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of ſervice in marching regiments, Mr Anſon was greatly chagrined at having ſuch a decrepid detachment allotted him; for he was fully perſuaded that the greateſt part of them would periſh long before they arrived at the ſcene of action, ſince the delays he had already encountered neceſſarily confined his paſſage round Cape Horn to the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the year. Sir Charles Wager, too, joined in opinion with the Commodore, that invalids were noways proper for this ſervice, and ſolicited ſtrenuouſly to have them exchanged; but he was told, that perſons who were ſuppoſed to be better judges of ſoldiers than he or Mr Anſon, thought them the propereſt men that could be employed on this occaſion; and upon this determination, they were ordered on board the ſquadron on the 5th of Auguſt. But inſtead of five hundred, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine; for all thoſe who had limbs and ſtrength to walk out of Portſmouth, deſerted, leaving behind them only ſuch as were literally invalids, moſt of them being ſixty years of age, and ſome of them upwards of ſeventy. Indeed it is difficult to conceive a more moving ſcene than the embarkation of theſe unhappy veterans. They were themſelves extremely averſe to the ſervice they were engaged in, and fully apprized of all the diſaſters they were afterwards expoſed to, the apprehenſions of which were ſtrongly marked by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no ſmall degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repoſe into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the ſtrength of their bodies, nor the vigour of their minds, were any ways proportioned, and where, without ſeeing the face of any enemy, or in the leaſt promoting the

ſucceſs of the enterprize, they would in all probability, uſeleſsly periſh by lingering and painful diſeaſes; and this, too, after they had ſpent the activity and ſtrength of their youth in their country's ſervice.

I cannot but obſerve on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate it was, both to this aged and diſeaſed detachment, and to the expedition they were employed in, that amongſt all the out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, which were ſuppoſed to amount to two thouſand men, the moſt crazy and infirm only ſhould be called out for ſo laborious and perilous an undertaking. For it was well known that however unfit invalids in general might be for this ſervice, yet, by a prudent choice, there might have been found amongſt them five hundred men who had ſome remains of vigour left: and Mr Anſon fully expected that the beſt of them would have been allotted him; whereas the whole detachment that was ſent to him ſeemed to be made up of the moſt decrepid and miſerable objects that could be collected out of the whole body; and by the deſertion above-mentioned, theſe were a ſecond time cleared of that little health and ſtrength which were to be found amongſt them, and he was to take up with ſuch as were much fitter for an infirmary than for any military duty.

And here it is neceſſary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this ſquadron. It was propoſed to Mr Anſon, after it was reſolved that he ſhould be ſent to the South Sea, to take with him two perſons under the denomination of agent victuallers. Thoſe who were mentioned for this employment, had formerly been in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, in the South Sea Company's ſervice; and it was ſuppoſed, that by their knowledge and intelligence on that coaſt, they might often procure proviſions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms. Theſe

agent victuallers were, for this purpoſe, to be allowed to carry to the value of L. 15,000 in merchandiſe on board the ſquadron; for they had repreſented, that it would be much eaſier for them to procure proviſions with goods, than with the value of the ſame goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this ſcheme, it was difficult to perſuade the generality of mankind, that is was not principally intended for the enrichment of the agents, by the beneficial commerce they propoſed to carry on upon that coaſt. Mr Anſon, from the beginning objected both to the appointment of agent victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the ſquadron; for he conceived, that in thoſe few amicable ports where the ſquadron might touch, he needed not their aſſiſtance to contract for any proviſions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coaſt, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the neceſſaries he ſhould want, unleſs (which he was reſolved not to comply with) the military operations of his ſquadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the government ought to have done on this occaſion was, to put on board to the value of two or three thouſand pounds only, of ſuch goods as the Indians or the Spaniſh planters, in the leſs cultivated part of the coaſt, might be tempted with; ſince it was in ſuch places only that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for proviſion; and in theſe places it was ſufficiently evident, a very ſmall cargo would ſuffice.

But though the Commodore objected both to the appointment of theſe officers, and to their project, of the ſucceſs of which he had no opinion; yet as they had inſinuated that their ſcheme, beſides victualling the ſquadron, might contribute to ſettling a trade upon that coaſt, which might be afterwards carried

on without difficulty, and might thereby prove a very conſiderable national advantage, they were much liſtened to by ſome conſiderable perſons. And of the L. 15,000 which was to be the amount of their cargo, the government agreed to advance them L. 10,000 upon intereſt, and the remaining L. 5,000 they raiſed on bottomry bonds; and the goods purchaſed with this ſum were all that were taken to ſea by the ſquadron, how much ſoever the amount of them might be afterwards magnified by common report.

This cargo was at firſt ſhipped on board the Wager ſtore-ſhip, and one of the victuallers, no part of it being admitted on board the men of war. But when the Commodor was at St Catharine's, he conſidered that in caſe the ſquadron ſhould be ſeparated, it might be pretended that ſome of the ſhips were diſappointed of proviſions for want of a cargo to truck with, and therefore he diſtributed ſome of the leaſt bulky commodities on board the men of war, leaving the remainder principally on board the Wager, where it was loſt; and more of the goods periſhing by various accidents to be recited hereafter, and no part of them being diſpoſed of upon the coaſt, the few that came home to England did not produce, when ſold, above a fourth part of the original price. So true was the Commodore's judgment of the event of this project, which had been by many conſidered as infallibly productive of immenſe gains. But to return to the tranſactions at Portſmouth.

To ſupply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids which had deſerted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board two hundred and ten marines detached from different regiments; theſe were raw and undiſciplined men; for they were juſt raiſed, and had ſcarcaly any thing more of the ſoldier than their regimentals, none of them having been

ſo far trained as to be permitted to fire. The laſt detachment of theſe marines came on board the 8th of Auguſt; and on the 10th, the ſquadron ſailed from Spithead to St Helen's, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition.

But the delays we had already ſuffered had not yet ſpent all their influence; for we were now advanced into a ſeaſon of the year when the weſterly winds are uſually very conſtant and very violent; and it was thought proper that we ſhould put to ſea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral Balchen, and the expedition under Lord Cathcart. As we made up, in all, twenty-one men of war, and a hundred and twenty-four ſail of merchantmen and tranſports, we had no hopes of getting out of the Channel with ſo large a number of ſhips, without the continuance of a fair wind for ſome conſiderable time. This was what we had every day leſs reaſon to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; ſo that our golden dreams, and our ideal poſſeſſion of the Peruvian treaſures, grew each day more faint, and the difficulties and dangers of the paſſage round Cape Horn, in the winter-ſeaſon, filled our imaginations in their room. For it was forty days from our arrival at St Helen's, to our final departure from thence. And even then (having orders to proceed without Lord Cathcart) we tided it down the Channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the diſpleaſing fatigue of often ſetting ſail, and being as often obliged to return; nor exempt from dangers, greater than have been ſometimes undergone in ſurrounding the globe. For the wind coming fair, for the firſt time, on the 23d of Auguſt, we got under ſail, and Mr Balchen ſhewed himſelf truly ſolicitous to have proceeded to ſea; but the wind ſoon returned to its old quarter, obliged us to put back to St Helen's, not without conſiderable haz-

ard and ſome damage received by two of the tranſports, who, in tacking, ran foul of each other. Beſides this, we made two or three more attempts to ſail, but without any better ſucceſs. And on the 6th of September, being returned to an anchor at St Helen's after one of theſe fruitleſs efforts, the wind blew ſo freſh, that the whole fleet ſtruck their yards and topmaſts to prevent driving: yet, notwitſtanding this precaution, the Centurion drove the next evening, and brought both cables a-head, and we were in no ſmall danger of driving foul of the Prince Frederick, a ſeventy gun ſhip, moored at a ſmall diſtance under our ſtern; though we happily eſcaped, by her driving at the ſame time, and ſo preſerving her diſtance. But we did not think ourſelves ſecure till we, at laſt, let go the ſheet anchor, which fortunately brought us up. However, on the 9th of September, we were, in ſome degree, relieved from this lingering, vexatious ſituation, by an order which Lord Anſon received from the Lord Juſtices, to put to ſea, the firſt opportunity, with his own ſquadron only, if Lord Cathcart ſhould not be ready. Being thus freed from the troubleſome company of ſo large a fleet, our Commodore reſolved to weigh, and tide it down the Channel, as ſoon as the weather ſhould become ſufficiently moderate; and this might eaſily have been done with our ſquadron alone, full two months ſooner, had the orders of the Admiralty, for ſupplying us with ſeamen, been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of thoſe other delays mentioned in this narration. It is true, our hopes of a ſpeedy departure were even now ſomewhat damped, by a ſubſequent order which Mr Anſon received on the 12th of September; for by that he was required to take under his convoy the St Alban's, with the Turkey fleet, and to join the Dragon and the Wincheſter, with the Streights and American trade, at Torbay,

or Plymouth, and to proceed with them to ſea as far as their way and ours lay together. This incumbrance of a convoy gave us ſome uneaſineſs, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our paſſage to the Madeiras: However, Mr Anſon now having the command himſelf, reſolved to adhere to his former determination, and to tide it down the Channel with the firſt moderate weather; and that the junction of his convoy might occaſion as little loſs of time as poſſible, he immediately ſent directions to Torbay, that the fleets he was there to take under his care might be in a readineſs to join him inſtantly on his approach. And, at laſt, on the 18th of September, we weighed from St Helen's; and though the wind was at firſt contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the Channel in four days, as will be more particularly related in the enſuing chapter.

Having thus gone through the reſpective ſteps taken in the equipment of this ſquadron, it is ſufficiently obvious how different an aſpect this expedition bore at its firſt appointment, in the beginning of January, from what it had in the latter end of September when it left the Channel; and how much its numbers, its ſtrength, and the probability of its ſucceſs were diminiſhed by the various incidents which took place in that interval. For, inſtead of having all our old and ordinary ſeamen exchanged for ſuch as were young and able, (which the Commodore was at firſt promiſed), and having our numbers completed to their full complement, we were obliged to retain our firſt crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwiſe made up to us, then by ſending us on board a hundred and ſeventy men, the greateſt part compoſed of ſuch as were diſcharged from hoſpitals, or new raiſed marines, who had never been at ſea be-

fore. And, in the land-forces allotted us, the change was ſtill more diſadvantageous; for there, inſtead of three independant companies, of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot, which was an old one, we had four hundred and ſeventy invalids and marines, one part of them incapable of action by their age and infirmities, and the other part uſeleſs by their ignorance of their duty. But the diminiſhing the ſtrength of the ſquadron was not the greateſt inconvenience which attended theſe alterations; for the conteſts, repreſentations, and difficulties which they continually produced, (as we have above ſeen, that in theſe caſes the authority of the Admiralty was not always ſubmitted to) occaſioned a delay and waſte of time, which, in its conſequences, was the ſource of all the diſaſters to which this enterpriſe was afterwards expoſed. For by this means, we were obliged to make our paſſage round Cape Horn in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year; whence proceeded the ſeparation of our ſquadron, the loſs of numbers of our men, and the imminent hazard of our total deſtruction. By this delay, too, the enemy had been ſo well informed of our deſigns, that a perſon who had been employed in the South Sea Company's ſervice, and arrived from Panama three or four days before we left Portſmouth, was able to relate to Mr Anſon moſt of the particulars of the deſtination and ſtrength of our ſquadron, from what he had learned amongſt the Spainards before he left them. And this was afterwards confirmed by a more extraordinary circumſtance: for we ſhall find, that when the Spaniards (fully ſatisfied that our expedition was intended for the South Seas) had fitted out a ſquadron to oppoſe us, which had ſo far got the ſtart of us, as to arrive before us off the iſland of Madeira, the commander of this ſquadron was ſo well inſtructed in the form and make of Mr Anſon's broad pendant,

and had imitated it ſo exactly, that he thereby decoyed the Pearl, one of our ſquadron, within gun-ſhot of him, before the captain of the Pearl was able to diſcover the miſtake.

CHAP. II.

The paſſage from St Helen's to the iſland of Madeira; with a ſhort account of that iſland, and of our ſtay there.

ON the 18th of September 1740, the ſquadron, as we have obſerved in the preceding chapter, weighed fromSt Helen's with a contrary wind, the Commodore propoſing to tide it down the Channel, as he dreaded leſs the inconveniencies he ſhould thereby have to ſtruggle with, than the riſk he ſhould run of ruining the enterprize, by an uncertain, and in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The ſquadron allotted to this ſervice conſiſted of five men of war, a ſloop of war, and two victualing ſhips. They were the Centurion, of ſixty guns, four hundred men, George Anſon, Eſq; commander; the Glouceſter, of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris commander; the Severn, of fifty guns, three hundred men, the honourable Edward Legg commander; the Pearl of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchel commander; the Wager, of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and ſixty men, Dandy Kidd commander; and the Tryal ſloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the honourable John Murray commander; the two victuallers were pinks, the largeſt of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burden. Theſe were to attend us till the proviſions we had taken on board

were ſo far conſumed, as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which when we had taken into our ſhips they were to be diſcharged. Beſides the complement of men borne by the above mentioned ſhips, as their crews, there were embarked on board the ſquadron about four hundred and ſeventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces (as has been particularly mentioned in the preceding chapter) which were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Crocherode. With this ſquadron, together with the St Albans and the Lark, and the trade under their convoy, Mr Anſon, after weighing from St Helen's, tided it down the Channel for the firſt forty-eight hours; and on the 20th in the morning, we diſcovered off the Ram-Head, the Dragon, Wincheſter, South Sea Caſtle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy: theſe were joined about noon the ſame day, our Commodore having orders to ſee them (together with the St Alban's and Lark) as far into the ſea as their courſe and ours lay together. When we came in ſight of this laſt mentioned fleet, Mr Anſon firſt hoiſted his broad pendant, and was ſaluted by all the men of war in company.

When we had joined this laſt convoy, we made up eleven men of war, and about one hundred and fifty ſale of merchantmen, conſiſting of the Turkey, the Streights, and the American trade. Mr Anſon the ſame day, made a ſignal for all the captains of of the men of war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and ſailing inſtructions, and then, with a fair wind, we all ſtood towards the ſouth-weſt; and the next day at noon, being the 2d, we had run forty leagues from the Ram-Head. Being now clear of the land, our Commodore, to render our view more extenſive, ordered Captain Mitchel, in the Pearl, to make ſail two leagues a-head of the

fleet every morning, and to repair to his ſtation every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Wincheſter and the American convoy made the concerted ſignal for leave to ſeparate, which being anſwered by the Commodore, they left us; as the St Alban's and the Dragon, with the Turkey and Streights convoy did on the 29th. After which ſeparation there remained in company only our own ſquadron and our two victuallers, with which we kept on our courſe for the iſland of Madeira: But the winds were ſo contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our paſſage thither from St Helen's, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a moſt unpleaſing circumſtance, productive of much diſcontent and ill humour amongſt our people, of which thoſe only can have a tolerable idea who have had the experience of a like ſituation. For beſides the peeviſhneſs and deſpondency which foul and contrary winds, and a lingering voyage, never fail to create on all occaſions, we, in particular, had very ſubſtantial reaſons to be greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment; ſince, as we had departed from England much later than we ought to have done, we had placed almoſt all our hopes of ſucceſs in the chance of retrieving, in ſome meaſure, at ſea, the time we had ſo unhappily waſted at Spithead and St Helen's. However, at laſt, Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and, in the afternoon, came to an anchor in Madeira-road, in forty fathoms water; the Brazen-head bearing from us E. by S. the Loo N. N. W. and the great church N. N. E. We had ſcarcely let go our anchor when an Engliſh privateer ſloop ran under our ſtern, and ſaluted the Commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five. And, the next day, the conſul of the iſland viſiting the Commodore,

we ſaluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This iſland of Madeira, where we are now arrived, is famous through all our American ſettlements for its excellent wines, which ſeem to be deſigned by Providence for the refreſhment of the inhabitants of the torrid zone. It is ſituated in a fine climate in the latitude of 32: 27 north; and in the longitude from London, (by our different reckonings) of 18 to 19 weſt, though laid down in the charts in 17. It is compoſed of one continued hill, of a conſidera- height, extending itſelf from eaſt to weſt; the declivity of which on the ſouth ſide, is cultivated and interſperſed with vineyards; and in the midſt of this ſlope the merchants have fixed their country ſeats, which to help form a very agreeable proſpect. There is but one conſiderable town in the whole iſland; it is named Fonchale, and it is ſeated on the ſouth part of the iſland at the bottom of a large bay. Towards the ſea, it is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, beſides a caſtle on the Loo, which is a rock ſtanding in the water, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, Fonchale is the only place of trade, and indeed, the only place where it is poſſible for a boat to land; and even here the beach is covered with large ſtones, and a violent ſurf continually beats upon it; ſo that the Commodore did not care to venture the ſhip's long-boats to fetch the water off, there was ſo much danger of their being loſt; and therefore ordered the captains of the ſquadron to employ Portugueſe boats on that ſervice.

We continued about a week at this iſland, watering our ſhips, and providing the ſquadron with wine, and other refreſhments. Here, on the 3d of November, Captain Richard Norris ſignified, by a letter to the Commodore, his deſire to quit his command on board the Glouceſter, in order to return to

England for the recovery of his health. This requeſt the Commodore complied with, and thereupon was pleaſed to appoint Captain Matthew Mitchel to command the Glouceſter in his room, and to remove Captain Kid from the Wager to the Pearl, and Captain Murray from the Tryal ſloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Tryal to Lieutenant Cheap. Theſe promotions being ſettled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the Commodore, on the following day, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands to be the firſt rendezvous in caſe of ſeparation; and directing them, if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of St Catharine's, on the coaſt of Brazil. The water of the ſquadron being the ſame day completed, and each ſhip ſupplied with as much wine and other refreſhments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the iſland of Madeira. But before I go on with the narration of our own tranſactions, I think it neceſſary to give ſome account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the meaſures they had taken to render all our deſigns abortive.

When Mr Anſon viſited the governor of Maderia, he received information from him, that, for three or four days, in the latter end of October, there had appeared, to the weſtward of that iſland, ſeven or eight ſhips of the line, and a patache, which laſt was ſent every day cloſe in to make the land. The governor aſſured the Commodore, upon his honour, than none upon the iſland had either given them intelligence, or had, in any ſort, communicated with them, but that he believed them to be either French or Spaniſh, but was rather inclined to think them Spaniſh. On this intelligence, Mr Anſon ſent an officer, in a clean ſloop, eight leagues to the weſt-

ward, to reconnoitre them, and if poſſible, to diſcover what they were: but the officer returned without being able to get a ſight of them, ſo that we ſtill remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture, that this fleet was intended to put a ſtop to our expedition, which, had they cruiſed to the eaſtward of the iſland inſtead of the weſtward, they could not but have executed with great facility. For as, in that caſe, they muſt certainly have fallen in with us, we ſhould have been obliged to throw overboard vaſt quantities of proviſion to clear our ſhips for an engagement: and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action would have effectually prevented our progreſs. This was ſo obvious a meaſure that we could not help imagining reaſons which might have prevented them from purſuing it. And we therefore ſuppoſed, that this French or Spaniſh ſquadron was ſent out upon advice of our ſailing in company with Admiral Balchen, and Lord Cathcart's expedition; and thence, from an apprehenſion of being over-matched, they might not think it adviſable to meet with us till we had parted company, which they might judge, would not happen before our arrival at this iſland. Theſe were our ſpeculations at that time; and, from hence we had reaſon to ſuppoſe that we might ſtill fall in with them in our way to the Cape de Verd iſlands. We afterwards, in the courſe of our expedition, were perſuaded, that this was the Spaniſh ſquadron commanded by Don Joſeph Pizarro, which was ſent out purpoſely to traverſe the views and enterprizes of our ſquadron, to which, in ſtrength they were greatly ſuperior. As the Spaniſh armament then was ſo nearly connected with our expedition, and as the cataſtrophe it underwent, though not affected by our force, was yet a conſiderable advantage to this nation, produced in conſequence of our equipment,

I have, in the following chapter, given a ſummary account of their proceedings, from their firſt ſetting out from Spain, in the year 1740, till the Aſia, the only ſhip of the whole ſquadron which returned to Europe, arrived at the Groyne, in the beginning of the year 1746.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of the Spaniſh ſquadron commanded by Don Joſeph Pizarro.

THE ſquadron fitted out by the court of Spain, to attend our motions, and traverſe our projects, we ſuppoſed to have been the ſhips ſeen off Madeira, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. As this force was ſent out particularly againſt our expedition, I cannot but imagine that the following hiſtory of the caſualties it met with, as far as by intercepted letters and other information, the ſame has come to my knowledge is a very eſſential part of the preſent work: for by this it will appear we were the occaſion, that a conſiderable part of the naval power of Spain was diverted from the proſecution of the ambitious views of that court in Europe; and the men and ſhips, loſt by the enemy in this undertaking, were loſt in conſequence of the precautions they took to ſecure themſelves againſt our enterprizes. This ſquadron (beſides two ſhips intended for the Weſt-Indies, which did not part company till after they had left the Madeiras) was compoſed of the following men of war, commanded by Don Joſeph Pizarro: The Aſia of ſixty-ſix guns, and ſeven hundred men; this was the admiral's ſhip: the Guipuſcoa of ſeventy-four guns, and ſeven hundred men: the Hermiona of fifty-four guns and five hundred men;

the Eſperanza of fifty guns, and four hundred and fifty men; the St Eſtevan of forty guns, and three hundred and fifty men; and a Patache of twenty guns. Theſe ſhips, over and above their complement of ſailors and marines, had on board an old Spaniſh regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garriſons on the coaſt of the South Seas. When this fleet had cruiſed for ſome days to the leeward of the Madeiras, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, they left that ſtation in the beginning of November and ſteered for the river of Plate, where they arrived the 5th of January, O. S. and coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldonando, at the mouth of that river, their Admiral Pizarro ſent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a ſupply of proviſions; for they had departed from Spain with only four months proviſions on board. While they here expecting this ſupply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portugueſe governor of St Catharine's, of Mr Anſon's having arrived at that iſland on the 21ſt of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to ſea again with the utmoſt expedition. Pizarro, notwithſtanding his ſuperior force, had his reaſons (and as ſome ſay, his orders likewiſe) for avoiding our ſquadron any where ſhort of the South Seas. He was beſides extremely deſirous of getting round Cape Horn before us, as he imagined that ſtep alone would effectually baffle all our deſigns; and therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we ſhould ſoon be ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with the five large ſhips, (the Patache being diſabled and condemned, and the men taken out of her), after a ſtay of ſeventeen days only, and got under ſail without proviſions, which arrived at Mandonando within a day or two after his departure, but notwithſtanding his precipitation with which he

departed, we put to ſea from St Catharine's four days before him, and in ſome part of our paſſage to Cape Horn, the two ſquadrons were ſo near together, that the Pearl, one of our ſhips, being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the Spaniſh fleet, and miſtaking the Aſia from the Centurion had got within gun-ſhot of Pizarro, before ſhe diſcovered her error, and narrowly eſcaped being taken.

It being the 22d of January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado (as has been already mentioned) they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox; and as they had reaſon to apprehend very tempeſtuous weather in doubling it at that ſeaſon; and as the Spaniſh ſailors, being, for the moſt part, accuſtomed to a fair-weather country, might be expected to be very averſe to ſo dangerous and fatiguing a navigation; the better to encourage them, ſome part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to be permitted to diſpoſe of in the South Seas, that ſo the hopes of the great profit each man was to make on his adventure, might animate him in his duty, and render him leſs diſpoſed to repine at the labour, the hardſhips, and and the perils he would in all probability meet with before his arrival on the coaſt of Peru.

Pizarro, with his ſquadron, having, towards the letter end of February, run the length of Cape Horn, he then ſtood to the weſtward, in order to double it; but in the night of the laſt day of February, O. S. while with this view they were turning to windward, the Guipuſcoa, the Hermiona, and the Eſperanza, were ſeparated from the admiral; and on the 6th of March following, the Guipuſcoa was ſeparated from the other two; and on the 7th (being the day after we had paſſed Streights le Maire) there came on a moſt furious ſtorm at

N. W. which in deſpite of their efforts, drove the ſquadron to the eaſtward, and after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, obliged them to bear away for the river of Plate, where Pizarro, in the Aſia arrived about the middle of May, and a few days after him the Eſperanza, and the Eſtevan. The Hermiona was ſuppoſed to founder at ſea, for ſhe was never heard of more; and the Guipuſcoa was run aſhore, and ſunk on the coaſt of Brazil. The calamities of all kinds which this ſquadron underwent, in this unſucceſsful navigation, can only be paralleled by what we ourſelves experienced in the ſame climate, when buffeted by the ſame ſtorms. There was, indeed, ſome diverſity in our diſtreſſes, which rendered it difficult to decide whoſe ſituation was moſt worthy of commiſeration. For, to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as ſhattered rigging, leaky ſhips, and the fatigues and deſpondency which neceſſarily attends theſe diſaſters, there was ſuperadded, on board our ſquadron, the ravage of a moſt deſtructive and incurable diſeaſe, and on board the Spaniſh ſquadron the davaſtation of famine.

For this ſquadron, either from the hurry of their outſet, their preſumption of a ſupply at Buenos Ayres, or from other leſs obvious motives, departed from Spain, as has been already obſerved, with no more than four months proviſion on board, and even that as it is ſaid, at ſhort allowance only; ſo that when, by the ſtorms they met with off Cape Horn, their continuance at ſea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were reduced to ſuch infinite diſtreſs, that rats, when they could be caught were ſold for four dollars a piece; and a ſailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for ſome days by his brother, who, during that time, lay in the ſame hammock with the corpſe, only to receive the dead man's allowance of proviſions. In this dread-

ful ſituation they were alarmed (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy among the marines on board the Aſia, the Admiral's ſhip. This had taken its riſe chiefly from the miſeries they endured. For tho' no leſs was propoſed by the conſpirators than the maſſacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody reſolution ſeemed to be no more than the deſire of relieving their hunger by appropriating the whole ſhip's proviſions to themſelves. But their deſigns were prevented when juſt upon the point of execution, by means of one of the confeſſors; and three of their ringleaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conſpiracy was ſuppreſſed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but grew each day more and more deſtructive: So that by the complicated diſtreſs of fatigue, ſickneſs, and hunger, the three ſhips which eſcaped loſt the greateſt part of their men. The Aſia, the Admiral's ſhip, arrived at Monte Vedio, in the river Plate, with half her crew only; the St Eſtevan had loſt in like manner half her hands, when ſhe anchored in the bay of Barragon; the Eſperanza, a fifty gun ſhip, was ſtill more unfortunate, for of four hundred and fifty hands which ſhe brought from Spain, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot periſhed except ſixty men. But to give the reader a more diſtinct and particular idea of what they underwent upon this occaſion, I ſhall lay before him a ſhort account of the fate of the Guipuſcoa, extracted from a letter written by Don Joſeph Mindinuetta, her captain, to a perſon of diſtinction at Lima, a copy of which fell into our hands afterwards in the South Seas.

He mentions, that he ſeparated from the Hermiona and the Eſperanza in a fog, on the 6th of March, being then, as I ſuppoſe, to the S. E. of Staten Land, and plying to the weſtward: That, in

the night after, it blew a furious ſtorm at N. W. which, at half an hour after ten, ſplit his main-ſail; and obliged him to bear away with his fore-ſail: That the ſhip went ten knots an hour with a prodigious ſea, and often ran her gangway under water; that he likewiſe ſprung his main-maſt; and the ſhip made ſo much water, that, with four pumps and bailing, he could not free her: That on the 6th it was calm, but the ſea continued ſo high, that the ſhip, in rolling, opened all her upper works and ſeams, and ſtarted the but-ends of her planking, and the greateſt part of her top timbers, the bolts being drawn by the violence of her roll: That, in this condition, with other additional diſaſters to the hull and rigging, they continued bearing to the weſtward till the 12th: That they were then in ſixty degrees of ſouth latitude, in great want of proviſions, numbers every day periſhing by the fatigue of pumping, and thoſe who ſurvived being quite diſpirited by labour, hunger, and the ſeverity of the weather, they having two ſpans of ſnow upon the decks: That then finding the wind fixed in the weſtern quarter, and blowing ſtrong, and conſequently their paſſage to the weſtward impoſſible, they reſolved to bear away for the river of Plate: That, on the 22d, they were obliged to throw overboard all the upper-deck guns, and an anchor, and take ſix turns of the cable round the ſhip, to prevent her opening: That, on the 4th of April, it being calm, but a very high ſea, the ſhip rolled ſo much, that the main-maſt came by the board, and, in a few hours after, ſhe loſt, in like manner, her fore-maſt and her mizen-maſt; and that, to accumulate their misfortunes, they were ſoon obliged to cut away their bowſpirit, to diminiſh, if poſſible, the leakage at her head: That, by this time, he had loſt two hundred and fifty men by hunger and fatigue; for thoſe who were capable of working at the pumps, (at which

every officer without exception took his turn), were allowed only an ounce and half of biſcuit *per diem*; and thoſe who were ſo ſick or ſo weak that they could not aſſiſt in this neceſſary labour, had no more than an ounce of wheat; ſo that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps: That, including the officers, they could only muſter from eighty to a hundred perſons capable of duty: That the ſouth-weſt winds blew ſo freſh, after they had loſt their maſts, that they could not immediately ſet up jury-maſts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitude of 32 and 28, till the 24th of April, when they made the coaſt of Brazil at Rio de Patas, ten leagues to the ſouthward of the iſland of St Catharine's: That here they came to an anchor, and that the captain was very deſirous of proceeding to St Catharine's, if poſſible, in order to ſave the hull of the ſhip, and the guns and ſtores on board her; but the crew inſtantly left off pumping, and being enraged at the hardſhips they had ſuffered, and the numbers they had loſt, (there being at that time, no leſs than thirty dead bodies lying on the deck) they all with one voice cried out, *On ſhore, on ſhore!* and obliged the captain to run the ſhip in directly for the land; where, the fifth day after, ſhe ſunk with the ſtores and all the furniture on board her, but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue hath ſpared, to the number of four hundred, got ſafe on ſhore.

From this account of the adventures and cataſtrophe of the Guipuſcoa, we may form ſome conjecture of the manner in which the Hermiona was loſt, and of the diſtreſſes endured by the three remaining ſhips of the ſquadron, which got into the river of Plate. Theſe laſt being in great want of maſts, yards, rigging, and all kind of naval ſtores, and having no ſupply at Buenos Ayres, nor in any part of

their neighbouring ſettlements, Pizarro diſpatched an advice-boat, with a letter of credit, to Rio Janeiro, to purchaſe what was wanting from the Portugueſe: He, at the ſame time, ſent an expreſs acroſs the continent to St Jago in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the diſaſters that had befallen his ſquadron, and deſiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal cheſts at Lima, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ſhips, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the paſſage to the South Seas, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year ſhould be more favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards, as a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, that the Indian charged with this expreſs, (though it was then the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are eſtemed impaſſible on account of the ſnow) was only thirteen days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St Jago in Chili; though theſe places are diſtant three hundred Spaniſh leagues, near forty of which are amongſt the ſnows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return of this diſpatch of Pizarro's from the viceroy of Peru was noways favourable; inſtead of 200,000 dollars, the ſum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only 100,000 telling him, that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that; though the inhabitants of Lima, who conſidered the preſence of Pizarro as abſolutely neceſſary to their ſecurity, were much diſcontented at this procedure, and did not fail to aſſert that it was not the want of money, but the intereſted views of ſome of the viceroy's confidants, that prevented Pizarro from having the whole ſum he had aſked for.

The advice-boat ſent to Rio Janeiro, alſo executed her commiſſion but imperfectly; for though ſhe brought back a conſiderable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, yet ſhe could not procure either maſts or

yards; and, as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was diſappointed of ſome maſts he expected from Paraguay; for a carpenter, whom he entruſted with a large ſum of money, and had ſent there to cut maſts, inſtead of proſecuting the buſineſs he was employed in, had married in the country, and refuſed to return. However, by removing the maſts of the Eſperanza into the Aſia, and making uſe of what ſpare maſts and yards they had no board, they made a ſhift to refit the Aſia and the St Eſtevan; and, in the October following, Pizarro was preparing to put to ſea with theſe two ſhips, in order to attempt the paſſage round Cape Horn a ſecond time; but the St Eſtevan, in coming down the river Plate, ran on a ſhoal, and beat off her rudder, on which, and other damages ſhe received, ſhe was condemned and broke up, and Pizarro, in the Aſia, proceeded to ſea without her. Having now the ſummer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and ſpeedy paſſage; but, being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind, in very moderate weather, though in a ſwelling ſea, by ſome miſconduct of the officer of the watch, the ſhip rolled away her maſts, and was a ſecond time obliged to put back to the river of Plate in great diſtreſs.

The Aſia having conſiderably ſuffered in this ſecond unfortunate expedition, the Eſperanza, which had been left behind at Monte Vedio, was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the Guipuſcoa when ſhe was loſt. He, in the November of the ſucceeding year, that is, in November 1742, ſailed from the river of Plate for the South Seas, and arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Chili, where his commodore, Pizarro, paſſing over land from Buenos Ayres met him. There were great animoſities and conteſts between theſe two gentlemen at their meeting, occaſioned principally

by the claim of Pizarro to command the Eſperanza, which Mindinuetta had brought round; for Mindinuetta refuſed to deliver her up to him, inſiſting, that as he came into the South Seas alone, and under no ſuperior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to reſume that authority which he had once parted with. However, the preſident of Chili interpoſing, and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after a long and obſtinate ſtruggle, was obliged to ſubmit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the ſeries of his adventures; for when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1745, they found at Monte Vedio the Aſia, which, near three years before, they had left there. This ſhip they reſolved, if poſſible, to carry to Europe, and, with this view, they refitted her in the beſt manner they could; but their great difficulty was to procure a ſufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining ſailors of the ſquadron to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres did not amount to a hundred men. They endeavoured to ſupply this defect by preſſing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and puting on board, beſides, all the Engliſh priſoners then in their cuſtody, together with a number of Portugueſe ſmugglers, which they had taken at different times, and ſome of the Indians of the country. Among theſe laſt there was a chief, and ten of his followers, which had been ſurpriſed by a party of Spaniſh ſoldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana; he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motely crew (all of them, except the European Spaniards, extremely averſe to the voyage) Pizarro ſet ſail from Monte Vedio, in the river of Plate, about the beginning of November 1745; and the native Spaniards

being no ſtrangers to the diſſatisfaction of their forced men, treated both thoſe, the Engliſh priſoners and the Indians, with great inſolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians; for it was common for the meaneſt officers in the ſhip to beat them moſt cruelly on the ſlighteſt pretences, and oftentimes only to exert their ſuperiority. Orellana, and his followers, though, in appearance, ſufficiently patient and ſubmiſſive, meditated a ſevere revenge for all theſe inhumanities. As he converſed very well in Spaniſh (theſe Indians having, in time of peace, a great intercourſe with Buenos Ayres,) he affected to talk with ſuch of the Engliſh as underſtood that language, and ſeemed very deſirous of being informed how many Engliſhmen there were on board, and which they were. As he knew that the Engliſh were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himſelf, he had doubtleſs an intention of diſcloſing his purpoſe to them, and making them partners in the ſcheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs, and recovering his liberty; but, having ſounded them at a diſtance, and not finding them ſo precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no further with them, but reſolved to truſt alone to the reſolution of his ten faithful followers. Theſe it ſhould ſeem readily engaged to obſerve his directions, and execute whatever commands he gave them; and having agreed on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken, they firſt furniſhed themſelves with Dutch knives, ſharp at the point, which being the common knives uſed in the ſhip, they found no difficulty in procuring. Beſides this, they employed their leiſure in ſecretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of theſe thongs, the double-headed ſhot of the ſmall quarter-deck guns; this when ſwung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was

a moſt miſchievous weapon, in the uſe of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and conſequently are extremely expert. Theſe particulars being in good forwardneſs, the execution of the ſcheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himſelf; for one of the officers, who was a very brutal fellow, ordered Orellana aloft, which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his diſobedience, beat him with ſuch violence, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and ſtupified for ſome time with his bruiſes and wounds. This uſage undoubtedly heightened his thirſt for revenge, and made him eager and impatient till the means of executing it was in his power; ſo that within a day or two after this incident, he and his followers opened their deſperate reſolutions in the enſuing manner.

It was about nine of the evening when many of the principle officers were on the quarter deck indulging in the freſhneſs of the night air; the waiſt of the ſhip was filled with live cattle, and the forecaſtle was manned with its cuſtomary watch. Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trouzers and the more cumbrous part of their dreſs, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatſwain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this Orellana ſpoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief of the ſix remaining Indians ſeemed to be ſlowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken poſſeſſion of the gangway, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry uſed by thoſe ſavages, which is ſaid to be the harſheſt and moſt terrifying ſound known in nature. This hedi-

ous yell was the ſignal for beginning the maſſacre: for on this they all drew their knives, and brandiſhed their prepared double headed ſhot; and the ſix with their chief, which remained on the quarter-deck immediately fell on the Spaniards who were intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet, of which above twenty were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt diſabled. Many of the officers, in the begining of the tumult, puſhed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricadoed the door; whilſt, of the others who had avoided the firſt fury of the Indians, ſome endeavoured to eſcape along the gangways into the forecaſtle, where the Indians, placed on purpoſe, ſtabbed the greateſt part of them as they attempted to paſs by, or forced them off the gangways into the waiſt: ſome threw themſelves voluntarily over the barricadoes into the waiſt, and thought themſelves fortunate to lie concealed amongſt the cattle; but the greateſt part eſcaped up the main ſhrouds, and ſheltered themſelves either in the tops or rigging. And though the Indians attack only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the forecaſtle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of the few, who not being killed on the ſpot, had ſtrength ſufficient to force their paſſage, and not knowing either who their enemies were, or what were their numbers, they likewiſe gave all over for loſt, and in great confuſion ran up into the rigging of the fore maſt and bowſprit.

Thus, theſe eleven Indians, with a reſolution perhaps without example, poſſeſſed themſelves, almoſt in an inſtant, of the quarter-deck of a ſhip mounting ſixty-ſix guns, and manned with near five hundred hands, and continued in peaceable poſſeſſion of this poſt a conſiderable time. For the officers in the great cabin, (amongſt whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta), the crew between decks, and thoſe who

had eſcaped into the tops and rigging were only anxious for their own ſafety, and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, and recovering the poſſeſſion of the ſhip. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confuſed clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obſcurity of the night, had firſt greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkneſs, diſorder, and an ignorance of the real ſtrength of an enemy, never fail to produce. For as the Spaniards were ſenſible of the diſaffection of their preſt hands, and were alſo conſcious of their barbarity to their priſoners, they imagined the conſpiracy was general, and conſidered their own deſtruction as infallible; ſo that, it is ſaid, ſome of them had once taken the reſolution of leaping into the ſea, but were prevented by their companions.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quater-deck, the tumult in a great meaſure ſubſided; for thoſe who had eſcaped were kept ſilent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of purſuing them to renew the diſorder. Orellana, when he ſaw himſelf maſter of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-cheſt, which, on a ſlight ſuſpicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greateſt ſecurity. Here he took it for granted he ſhould find cutlaſſes ſufficient for himſelf and his companions, in the uſe of which weapon they were all extremely ſkilful, and, with theſe, it was imagined, they propoſed to have forced the great cabin; but, on opening the cheſt, there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no uſe. There were indeed cutlaſſes in the cheſt, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a ſenſible diſappointment to them; and by this time Pizarro and his companions

in the great cabin, were capable of converſing aloud through the cabin-windows and port-holes, with thoſe in the gun room and between decks; and from hence they learned, that the Engliſh (whom they principally ſuſpected) were all ſafe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny; and, by other particulars, they at laſt diſcovered that none were concerned in it, but Orellana and his people. On this, Pizarro and the officers reſolved to attack them on the quarter-deck, before any of the diſcontented on board ſhould ſo far recover their firſt ſurpriſe, as to reflect of the facility and certainty of ſeizing the ſhip, by a junction with the Indians in the preſent emergency. With this view, Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, and diſtributed them to thoſe who were with him: but there were no other fire-arms to be met with but piſtols, and for thoſe they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now ſettled a correſpondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin-window, into which the gunner, out of one of the gun-room ports, put a quantity of piſtol cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, and had loaded their piſtols, they ſet the cabin-door partly open, and fired ſeveral ſhot amongſt the Indians on the quarter-deck, though at firſt without effect; but at laſt Mindinuetta, whom we have often mentioned, had the good fortune to ſhoot Orellana dead on the ſpot; on which his faithful companions, abandoning all thoughts of farther reſiſtance, inſtantly leaped into the ſea, where they every man periſhed. Thus was this inſurrection quelled, and the poſſeſſion of the quarter-deck regained, after it had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring chief, and his gallant unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro having eſcaped this imminent peril, ſteered for Europe, and arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Gallicia,

in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been abſent between four and five years, and having by his attendance on our expedition, diminiſhed the naval power of Spain by above three thouſand hands, (the flower of their ſailors) and by four conſiderable ſhips of war and a patache. For we have ſeen, that the Hermiona foundered at ſea; the Guipuſcoa was ſtranded, and ſunk on the coaſt of Brazil; the St Eſtevan was condemned, and broke up in the river of Plate; and the Eſperanza being left in the South Seas, is doubtleſs, by this time incapable of returning to Spain. So that the Aſia only, with leſs than one hundred hands, may be regarded as all the remains of that ſquadron, with which Pizarro firſt put to ſea. And whoever conſiders the very large proportion which this ſquadron bore to the whole navy of Spain, will, I believe, confeſs, that had our undertaking been attended with no other advantage, than that of ruining ſo great a part of the ſea-force of ſo dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a ſufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an inconteſtible proof of the ſervice which the nation has thence recived. Having thus concluded this ſummary of Pizarro's adventures, I ſhall now return again to the narration of our own tranſactions.

CHAP. IV.

From Madeira to St Catharine's.

I HAVE already mentioned, that on the 3d of November, we weighed from Madeira, after orders had been given to the captains to rendezvous at St Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands, in caſe the ſquadron was ſeparated. But the next day when we were got to ſea, the Commodore, conſidering that the ſeaſon was far advanced, and that touching at St Jago

would create a new delay, he, for this reaſon, thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the iſland of St Catharine's on the coaſt of Brazil, to be the firſt place to which the ſhips of the ſquadron were to repair in caſe of ſeparation.

In our paſſage to the iſland of St Catharine's we found the direction of the trade-winds, to differ conſiderably from what we had reaſon to expect, both from the general hiſtories given of theſe winds, and the experience of former navigators. For the learned Dr Halley, in his account of the trade-winds, which take place in the Ethiopic and Atlantic ocean, tells us, that from the latitude of 28 N. to the latitude of 10 N. there is generally a freſh gale of N. E. wind, which, toward the African ſide, rarely comes to the eaſtward of E. N. E. or paſſes to the northward of N. N. E. but on the American ſide, the wind is ſomewhat more eaſterly, though moſt commonly, even there, it is a point or two to the northward of the eaſt: that from 10 N. to 4 N. the calms and tornadoes take place; and from 4 N. to 30 S. the winds are generally and perpetually between the ſouth and the eaſt. This account we expected to have verified by our own experience; but we found conſiderable variations from it, both in reſpect to the ſteadineſs of the winds, and the quarter from whence they blew. For tho' we met with a N. E. wind about the latitude of 28 N. yet from the latitude of 25 to the latitude of 18 N. the wind was never once to the northward of the eaſt, but on the contrary, almoſt conſtantly to the ſouthward of it. However, from thence to the latitude of 60: 20 N. we had it uſually to the northward of the eaſt, though not entirely, it having for a ſhort time changed to E. S. E.: from hence, to about 4: 46 N. the weather was very unſettled; ſometimes the wind was N. E. then changed S. E. and ſometimes we had a dead calm, attend-

ed with ſmall rain and lightning. After this, the winds continued almoſt invariably between the S. and E. to the latitude 7 : 30 S; and then again as invariably between the N. and E. to the latitude of 15 : 30 S; then E. S. E. to 21 : 37 S. But after this, even to the latitude of 27 : 44 S. the wind was never once between the S. and the E. though we had it at times in all the other quarters of the compaſs. But this laſt circumſtance may be in ſome meaſure accounted for, from our approach to the main continent of the Brazils. I mention not theſe particulars with a view of cavilling at the received account of theſe trade-winds which I doubt not are in general ſufficiently accurate; but I thought it a matter worthy of public notice, that ſuch deviations from the eſtabliſhed rules do ſometimes take place. Beſides, this obſervation may not only be of ſervice to navigators, by putting them on their guard againſt theſe hitherto unexpected irregularities, but is a circumſtance neceſſary to be attended to in the ſolution of that great queſtion about the cauſes of the trade-winds and monſoons; a queſtion, which, in my opinion, has not been hitherto diſcuſſed with that clearneſs and accuracy which its importance (whether it be conſidered as a naval or philoſophical inquiry) ſeems to demand.

On the 16th of November, one of our victuallers made a ſignal to ſpeak with the Commodore, and we ſhortened ſail for her to come up with us. The maſter came on board, and acquainted Mr Anſon, that he had complied with the terms of his charter-party and deſired to be unloaded and diſmiſſed. Mr Anſon, on conſulting the captains of the ſquadron, found all the ſhips had ſtill ſuch quantities of proviſion between their decks, and were withal ſo deep that they could not, without great difficulty, take in their ſeveral proportions of brandy from the Induſtry

pink, one of the victuallers only, conſequently he was obliged to continue the other of them, the Anna pink, in the ſervice of attending the ſquadron. This being reſolved on, the Commodore next day made a ſignal for the ſhips to bring to, and to take on board their ſhares from the Induſtry pink; and in this the long boats of the ſquadron were employed the three following days, that is, till the 19th in the evening, when the pink being unloaded, ſhe parted company with us, being bound for Barbadoes, there to take in a freight for England. Moſt of the officers of the ſquadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ſhip; but ſhe was afterwards, as I have ſince been informed, unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November, the Captains of the ſquadron repreſented to the Commodore, that their ſhips companies were very ſickly; and that it was their own opinion, as well as their ſurgeons, that it would tend to the preſervation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ſhips were ſo deep they could not poſſibly open their lower ports. On this repreſentation the Commodore ordered ſix air-ſcuttles to be cut in each ſhip, in ſuch places where they would leaſt weaken it.

And on this occaſion I cannot but obſerve, how much it is the duty of all thoſe who, either by office or authority, have any influence in the direction of our naval affairs, to attend to this important article, the preſervation of the lives and health of our ſeamen. If it could be ſuppoſed that the motives of humanity were inſufficient for this purpoſe, yet policy, and a regard to the ſucceſs of our arms, and the intereſt and honour of each particular commander, ſhould naturally lead us to a careful and impartial examination of every probable method propoſed for maintaining a ſhip's crew in health and vigour. But

hath this been always done? have the late invented plain and obvious methods of keeping our ſhips ſweet and clean, by a conſtant ſupply of freſh air, been conſidered with that candour and temper, which the great benefits promiſed hereby ought naturally to have inſpired; on the contrary have not theſe ſalutary ſchemes been often treated with neglect and contempt? and have not ſome of thoſe who have been truſted with experimenting their effects been guilty of the moſt indefenſible partiality in the accounts they have given of theſe trials? Indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that many diſtinguiſhed perſons both in the direction and command of our fleet, have exerted themſelves on theſe occaſions with a judicious and diſpaſſionate examination, becoming the intereſting nature of the inquiry; but the wonder is, that any could be found irrational enough to act a contrary part, in deſpite of the ſtrongeſt dictates of prudence and humanity. I muſt however own, that I do not believe this conduct to have ariſen from motives ſo ſavage as the firſt reflection thereon does naturally ſuggeſt; but I rather impute it to an obſtinate, and, in ſome degree, ſuperſtitious attachment to ſuch practices as have been long eſtabliſhed, and to a ſettled contempt and hatred of all kinds of innovations, eſpecially ſuch as are projected by landmen, and perſons reſiding on ſhore. But let us return from this, I hope not impertinent, digreſſion.

We croſſed the equinoctial with a fine freſh gale at S. E. on Friday the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of 29: 59 weſt from London: and on the 2d of December in the morning, we ſaw a ſail in the N. W. quarter, and made the Glouceſter's and Tryal's ſignals to chace; and half an hour after, we let out our reefs, and chaſed with the ſquadron: and about noon, a ſignal was made for the Wager to take our remaining victualler, the Anna Pink, in tow: but at ſeven in

the evening, finding we did not near the chaſe, and that the Wager was very far a-ſtern, we ſhortened ſail, and made a ſignal for the cruiſers to join the ſquadron. The next day but one we diſcovered a ſail, which, on a nearer approach, we judged to be the ſame veſſel. We chaſed her the whole day, and though we rather gained upon her, yet night came on before we could overtake her, which obliged us to give over the chaſe, and to collect our ſcattered ſquadron. We were much chagrined at the eſcape of this veſſel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice boat ſent from Old Spain to Buenos Ayres, with notice of our expedition; but we have ſince learned that we were deceived in this conjecture, and that it was our Eaſt-India Company's packet bound to St Helena.

On the 10th of December, being, by our accounts, in the latitude of 26 S. and 36: 30 longitude weſt from London, the Tryal fired a gun to denote ſoundings. We immediately ſounded, and found ſixty fathom water, the bottom coarſe ground with broken ſhells. The Tryal being a-head of us, had at one time thirty-ſeven fathom, which afterwards increaſed to ninety: and then ſhe found no bottom, which happened to us too at our ſecond trial, though we ſounded with an hundred and fifty fathom line. This is the ſhoal which is laid down in moſt charts by the name of the Abrollos; and it appeared we were upon the very edge of it: perhaps farther in it may be extremely dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to ſixty leagues eaſt of the coaſt of Brazil. The next day but one we ſpoke with a Portugueſe brigantine from Rio Janeiro, bound to Bahia del Todos Santos, who informed us, that we were thirty-four leagues from Cape St Thomas, and forty leagues from Cape Frio, which laſt bore from us W. S. W. By our accounts we

were near eighty leagues from Cape Frio; and though, on the information of this brigantine, we altered our courſe, and ſtood more to the ſouthward, yet by our coming in with the land afterwards, we were fully convinced that our reckoning was much correcter than our Portugueſe intelligence. We found a conſiderable current ſetting to the ſouthward, after we had paſſed the latitude of 16 S. and the ſame took place all along the coaſt of Brazil, and even to the ſouthward of the river Plate, it amounting ſometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles.

If this current is occaſioned (as it is moſt probable) by the running off of the water accumulated on the coaſt of Brazil, by the conſtant ſweeping of the eaſtern trade wind over the Ethiopic ocean, then it is moſt natural to ſuppoſe that its general courſe is determined by the bearings of the adjacent ſhore. Perhaps, too, in almoſt every other inſtance of currents, the ſame may hold true, as I believe no examples occur of conſiderable currents being obſerved at any great diſtance from land. If this then could be laid down for a general principle, it would be always eaſy to correct the reckoning by the obſerved latitude. But it were much to be wiſhed, for the general intereſts of navigation, that the actual ſettings of the different currents which are known to take place in various parts of the world, were examined more frequently and accurately than hitherto appears to have been done.

We now began to grow impatient for a ſight of land, both for the recovery of our ſick, and for the refreſhment and ſecurity of thoſe who as yet continued healthy. When we departed from St Helen's, we were in ſo good a condition, that we loſt but two men on board the Centurion in our long paſſage to Madeira: but, in this preſent run between Madeira

and St Catharine's, we were remarkably ſickly, ſo that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, both in our ſhip, and in the reſt of the ſquadron, and ſeveral of theſe paſt all hopes of recovery. The diſorders they in general laboured under, were ſuch as are common to the hot climate, and what moſt ſhips, bound to the ſouthward experience in a greater or leſs degree. Theſe are thoſe kinds of fevers which they uſually call calentures; a diſeaſe which was not only terrible in its firſt inſtance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to thoſe who conſidered themſelves as recovered from it: for it always left them in a very weak and helpleſs condition, and uſually afflicted either with fluxes or teneſmus's. By our continuance at ſea, all theſe complaints were every day increaſing, ſo that it was with great joy we diſcovered the coaſt of Brazil, on the 16th of December, at ſeven in the morning.

The coaſt of Brazil appeared high and mountainous land, extending from W. to W. S. W. and when we firſt ſaw it, it was about ſeventeen leagues diſtant. At noon we perceived a low double land, bearing W. S. W. about ten leagues diſtant, which we took to be the iſland of St Catharine's: That afternoon, and the next morning, the wind being N. N. W. we gained very little to windward, and were apprehenſive of being driven to the leeward of the iſland; but a little before noon the next day, the wind came about to the ſouthward, and enabled us to ſteer in between the north point of St Catharine's and the neighbouring iſland of Alvoredo. As we ſtood in for the land, we had regular ſoundings, gradually decreaſing from thirty-ſix to twelve fathom, all muddy ground. In this laſt depth of water we let go our anchor at five o'clock in the evening of the 18th, the north-weſt point of the iſland of St Catharine's bearing S. S. W. diſtant three miles; and the

iſland Alvoredo N. N. E. diſtant two leagues. Here we found the tide to ſet S. S. E. and N. N. W. at the rate of two knots, the tide of flood coming from the ſouthward. We could, from our ſhips, obſerve two fortifications at a conſiderable diſtance within us which ſeemed deſigned to prevent the paſſage of an enemy between the iſland of St Catharine's and the main. And we could ſoon perceive that our ſquadron had alarmed the coaſt, for we ſaw the two forts hoiſt their colours, and fire ſeveral guns, which we ſuppoſed were ſignals for aſſembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confuſion, the Commodore immediately ſent a boat with an officer on ſhore, to compliment the Governor, and to deſire a pilot to carry us into the road. The Governor returned a very civil anſwer and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th we weighed and ſtood in, towards noon the pilot came on board us, who the ſame afternoon brought us to an anchor in five fathom and an half, in a large commodious bay on the continent ſide, called by the French, Bon Port. In ſtanding from our laſt anchorage to this place, we every where found an oozy bottom, with a depth of water firſt regularly decreaſing to five fathom, and then increaſing to ſeven, after which we had ſix and five fathom alternately. The next morning we weighed again with the ſquadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the caſtles of Santa Cruz, and St Juan. Our ſoundings now, between the iſland and the main, were four, five, and ſix fathom, with muddy ground. As we paſſed by the caſtle of Santa Cruz, we ſaluted it with eleven guns, and were anſwered by an equal number; and at one in the afternoon, the ſquadron came to an anchor in five fathom and an half, the Governor's iſland bearing N. N. W. St Juan's caſtle N. E. half E. and the iſland of St Antonio ſouth. In this po-

ſition we moored at the iſland of St Catharine's, on Sunday, the 21ſt of December, the whole ſquadron being, as I have already mentioned, ſickly, and in great want of refreſhments; both which inconveniencies we hoped to have ſoon removed at this ſettlement, celebrated by former navigators for its healthineſs, and the plenty of its proviſions, and for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly aſſiſtance there given to the ſhips of all European nations in amity with the crown of Portugal.

CHAP. V.

Proceedings at St Catharine's, and a deſcription of the place, with a ſhort account of Brazil.

OUR firſt care, after having moored our ſhips, was to get our ſick men on ſhore; preparatory to which, each ſhip was ordered by the Commodore, to erect two tents; one of them for the reception of the diſeaſed, and the other for the accommodation of the ſurgeon and his aſſiſtants. We ſent about eighty ſick from the Centurion; and the other ſhips, I believe, ſent nearly as many in proportion to the number of their hands. As ſoon as we had performed this neceſſary duty, we ſcraped our decks, and gave our ſhip a thorough cleanſing, then ſmoaked it between decks, and after all, waſhed every part well with vinegar. Theſe operations were extremely neceſſary for correcting the noiſome ſtench on board, and deſtroying the vermin; for from the number of our men, and the heat of the climate, both theſe nuiſances had increaſed upon us to a very loathſome degree; and beſides being moſt intolerably offenſive, they were doubtleſs, in ſome ſort productive of the

ſickneſs we had laboured under for a conſiderable time before our arrival at this iſland.

Our next employment was wooding and watering our ſquadron, caulking our ſhip's ſides and decks, overhauling our rigging, and ſecuring our maſts againſt the tempeſtuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our paſſage round Cape Horn, in ſo advanced and inconvenient a ſeaſon: but before I engage in the particulars of theſe tranſactions, it will not be improper to give ſome account of the preſent ſtate of this iſland of St Catharine's, and of the neighbouring country; both as the circumſtances of this place are now greatly changed from what they were in the time of former writers; and as theſe changes laid us under many more difficulties and perplexities than we had reaſon to expect, or than other Britiſh ſhips, hereafter bound to the South Seas, may perhaps think it prudent to ſtruggle with.

This iſland is eſteemed by the natives to be no where above two leagues in breadth, though about nine in length: it lies in 49: 45 of weſt longitude of London, and extends from the ſouth latitude of 27: 35, to that of 28. Altho' it be of a conſiderable height, yet it is ſcarce diſcernable at the diſtance of ten leagues, being then obſcured under the continent of Brazil, whoſe mountains are exceeding high; but on a nearer approach, it is eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed, and may be readily known by a number of ſmall iſlands lying at each end, and ſcattered along the eaſt ſide of it. The beſt entrance to the harbour is between the point at its north-eaſt end, and the iſland of Alvoredo, where ſhips may paſs under the guidance of their lead, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger. Frezier has given a draught of this iſland of St Catharine's, and of the neighbouring coaſt and the minuter iſles adjacent; but he has, by miſtake, called the iſland of Alvoredo, the iſle de Gal; whereas the true

iſle de Gal lies ſeven or eight miles to the north-weſtward of it, and is much ſmaller. He has alſo called an iſland, to the ſouthward of St Catharine's, Alvoredo, and has omitted the iſland Maſaqura; in other reſpects his plan is ſufficiently exact.

The north entrance of the harbour is in breadth about five miles; and the diſtance from thence to the iſland of St Antonio, is eight miles; and the courſe from the entrance to St Antonio, is S. S. W. About the middle of the iſland the harbour is contracted by two points of land, to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad; and to defend this paſſage a battery was erecting on the point of land on the iſland ſide. But this ſeems to be a very uſeleſs work, as the channel has no more than two fathoms water, and conſequently is navigable only for barks and boats; and therefore ſeems to be a paſſage that an enemy could have no inducement to attempt; eſpecially as the common paſſage at the north end of the iſland is ſo broad and ſafe that no ſquadron can be prevented from coming in by any of their fortifications, when the ſea-breeze is made. However, the brigadier Don Joſe Sylva de Paz, the governor of this ſettlement, is eſteemed an expert engineer, and he doubtleſs underſtands one branch of his buſineſs very well, which is the advantages which new works bring to thoſe who are entruſted with the care of erecting them: for beſides the battery mentioned above, there are three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which are yet completed. The firſt of theſe, called St Juan, is built on a point of St Catharine's near Parrot iſland; the ſecond, in form of a half-moon, is on the iſland of St Antonio; and the third, which ſeems to be the chief, and has ſome appearance of a regular fortification, is on an iſland near the continent, where the governor reſides.

The ſoil of the iſland is truly luxuriant, producing fruit of many kinds ſpontaneouſly; and the ground is covered over with one continued foreſt of trees, of a perpetual verdure, which, from the exuberance of the ſoil, are ſo entangled with briars, thorns, and under-wood, as to form a thicket abſolutely impenetrable, except by ſome narrow pathways which the inhabitants have made for their own convenience. Theſe, with a few ſpots cleared for plantations along the ſhore, facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the iſland. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and ſhrubs with which they abound; and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive here, almoſt without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty; ſo that here is no want of pine-apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, nor plantains. There are, beſides, great abundance of two other productions of no ſmall conſideration for a ſea-ſtore, I mean onions and potatoes. The fleſh proviſions are however much inferior to the vegetables: there are indeed ſmall wild cattle to be purchaſed, ſomewhat like buffaloes; but theſe are very indifferent food, their fleſh being of a looſe contexture, and generally of a diſagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabaſh on which they feed. There are likewiſe great plenty of pheaſants; but they are not to be compared in taſte to thoſe we have in England. The other proviſions of the place, are monkeys, parrots, aud, above all, fiſh of various ſorts; theſe abound in the harbour, are exceeding good, and are eaſily catched; for there are a great number of ſmall ſandy bays very convenient for hauling the ſeyne.

The water, both on the iſland, and the oppoſite continent, is excellent, and preſerves at ſea, as well as that of the Thames. For, after it has been in

the caſk a day or two, it begins to purge itſelf, and ſtinks moſt intolerably, and is ſoon covered over with a green ſcum: but this, in a few days, ſubſides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear a cryſtal, and perfectly ſweet. The French, (who during their South Sea trade in Queen Anne's reign, firſt brought this place into repute), uſually wooded and watered in Bon Port, on the continent ſide, where they anchored with great ſafety in ſix fathom water; and this is doubtleſs the moſt commodious road for ſuch ſhips as intend to make only a ſhort ſtay. But we watered on the St Catharine's ſide, at a plantation oppoſite to the iſland of St Antonio.

Theſe are the advantages of this iſland of St Catharine's; but there are many inconveniencies attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government eſtabliſhed there. With regard to the climate, it muſt be remembered, that the woods and hills which ſurround the harbour, prevent a free circulation of the air: and the vigorous vegetation which conſtantly takes place there, furniſhes ſuch a prodigious quantity of vapour, that, all the night, and a great part of the morning, a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the ſun gathers ſtrength to diſſipate it, or it is diſperſed by a briſk ſea-breeze. This renders the place cloſe and humid, and probably occaſioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To theſe exceptions I muſt not omit to add, that all the day we were peſtered with great numbers of muſkatoes, which are not much unlike the gnats in England, but more venomous in their ſtings. And, at ſun ſet, when the muſkatoes retired, they were ſucceeded by an infinity of ſand-flies, which, though ſcarce diſcernable to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and, wherever they bite, raiſe a ſmall lump in the fleſh,

which is ſoon attended with a painful itching, like that ariſing from the bite of an Engliſh harveſt-bug. But, as the only light in which this place deſerves our conſideration, is its favourable ſituation for ſupplying and refreſhing our cruiſers intended for the South Seas; in this view its greateſt inconveniencies remain ſtill to be related; and, to do this more diſtinctly, it will not be amiſs to conſider the changes which it has lately undergone, both in its inhabitants, its police, and its governor.

In the time of Frezier and Shelvocke, this place ſerved only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled thither from all parts of Brazil. They did indeed acknowledge a ſubjection to the crown of Portugal, and had a perſon among them whom they called their Captain, who was conſidered, in ſome ſort, as their governor; but both their allegiance to their king, and their obedience to the captain, ſeemed to be little more than verbal. For as they had plenty of proviſions, but no money, they were in a condition to ſupport themſelves without the aſſiſtance of any neighbouring ſettlements, and had not amongſt them the means of tempting any adjacent governor to buſy his authority about them. In this ſituation, they were extremely hoſpitable and friendly, to ſuch foreign ſhips as came amongſt them. For theſe ſhips, wanting only proviſions, of which the natives had great ſtore, and the natives wanting clothes, (for they often deſpiſed money, and refuſed to take it), which the ſhips furniſhed them with in exchange for their proviſions, both ſides found their account in this traffic; and their captain or governor had neither power nor intereſt to reſtrain it, or to tax it. But, of late (for reaſons which ſhall be hereafter mentioned) theſe honeſt vagabonds have been obliged to receive amongſt them a new colony, and to ſubmit to new laws and new forms of government. Inſtead

of their former ragged, bare-legged captain, (whom, however, they took care to keep innocent), they have now the honour to be governed by Don Joſe Sylva de Paz, a brigadier of the armies of Portugal. This gentleman has with him a garriſon of ſoldiers, and has conſequently, a more extenſive, and a better ſupported power than any of his predeceſſors; and as he wears better clothes, and lives more ſplendidly, and has, beſides, a much better knowledge of the importance of money, than they could ever pretend to; ſo he puts in practice certain methods of procuring it, with which they were utterly unacquainted. But it may be much doubted, if the inhabitants conſider theſe methods as tending to promote either their intereſts, or that of their ſovereign, the king of Portugal. This is certain, that his behaviour cannot but be extremely embarraſſing to ſuch Britiſh ſhips as touch there in their way to the South Seas. For one of his practices was, placing centinels at all the avenues to prevent the people from ſelling us any refreſhments, except at ſuch exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary ſtretch of power was, that he was obliged to preſerve their proviſions, for upwards of an hundred families, which they daily expected to reinforce their colony. Hence he appears to be no novice in his profeſſion, by his readineſs at inventing a plauſible pretence for his intereſted management. However, this, though ſufficiently provoking, was far from being the moſt exceptionable part of his conduct. For, by the neighbourhood of the river Plate, a conſiderable ſmuggling traffic is carried on between the Portugueſe and the Spaniards, eſpecially in the exchanging gold for ſilver, by which both princes are defrauded of their fifths; and in this prohibited commerce, Don Joſe was ſo deeply engaged, that in order to ingratiate himſelf with his

Spaniſh correſpondents, (for no other reaſon can be given for his procedure), he treacherouſly diſpatched an expreſs to Buenos Ayres in the river of Plate, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our arrival, and of the ſtrength of our ſquadron, particularly mentioning the number of ſhips, guns, and men, and every circumſtance which he could ſuppoſe our enemies deſirous of being acquainted with: and the ſame perfidy every Britiſh cruiſer may expect who touches at St Catharine's, while it is under the government of Don Joſe Sylva de Paz.

Thus much, with what we ſhall be neceſſitated to relate in the courſe of our own proceedings, may ſuffice as to the preſent ſtate of St Catharine's, and the character of its governor. But, as the reader may be deſirous of knowing to what cauſes the late new-modelling of this ſettlement is owing, to ſatisfy him in this particular, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of the adjacent continent of Brazil, and of the wonderful diſcoveries which have been made there within theſe laſt forty years, which, from a country of but mean eſtimation, has rendered it now perhaps the moſt conſiderable colony on the face of the globe.

This country was firſt diſcovered by Americus Viſputio, a Florentine, who had the good fortune to be honoured with giving his name to the immenſe continent, ſome time before found out by Columbus. Viſputio being in the ſervice of the Portugueſe, it was ſettled and planted by that nation, and, with the other dominions of Portugal, devolved to the crown of Spain, when that kingdom became ſubject to it. During the long war between Spain and the States of Holland, the Dutch poſſeſſed themſelves of the northermoſt part of Brazil, and were maſters of it for ſome years; but when the Portugueſe revolted from the Spaniſh government, this country took part

in the revolt, and ſoon re-poſſeſſed themſelves of the places the Dutch had taken: ſince which time it has continued, without interruption, under the crown of Portugal, being, till the beginning of the preſent century, only productive of ſugar and tobacco, and a few other commodities of very little account.

But this country, which for many years, was only conſidered for the produce of its plantations, has been lately diſcovered to abound with the two minerals, which mankind hold in the greateſt eſteem, and which they exert their utmoſt art and induſtry in acquiring, I mean gold and diamonds: Gold was firſt found in the mountains which lay adjacent to the city of Rio Janeiro. The occaſion of its diſcovery is variouſly related; but the moſt common account is, that the Indians, lying on the back of the Portugueſe ſettlements, were obſerved, by the ſoldiers employed in an expedition againſt them, to make uſe of this metal for their fiſh-hooks; and their manner of procuring it being inquired into, it appeared, that great quantities of it were annually waſhed from the hills, and left amongſt the ſand and gravel, which remained in the vallies after the running off, or evaporation of the water. It is now little more than forty years ſince any quantities of gold, worth notice, have been imported to Europe from Brazil; but, ſince that time, the annual imports from thence have been continually augmented, by the diſcovery of places in other provinces, where it is to be met with as plentifully as at firſt about Rio Janeiro. And it is now ſaid, that there is a ſmall ſlender vein of it ſpread through all the country, at about twenty-four feet from the ſurface, but that this vein is too thin and poor to anſwer the expence of digging: however, where the rivers or rains have had any courſe for a conſiderable time, there gold is always to be collected, the water having ſeparated the metal from the

earth, and depoſited it in the ſands, thereby ſaving the expences of digging; ſo that it is eſteemed an infallible gain to be able to divert a ſtream from its channel, and to ranſack its bed. From this account of gathering this metal, it ſhould follow, that there are properly no gold mines in Brazil; and this the governor of Rio Grande (who being at St Catharine's, frequently viſited Mr Anſon) did moſt confidently affirm, aſſuring us, that the gold was all collected either from rivers, or from the beds of torrents after floods. It is indeed aſſerted, that in the mountains, large rocks are found abounding with this metal; and I myſelf have ſeen the fragment of one of theſe rocks, with a conſiderable lump of gold intangled in it; but even in this caſe, the workmen break off the rocks, and do not properly mine into them; and the great expence in ſubſiſting among theſe mountains, and afterwards in ſeparating the metal from the ſtone, makes this method of procuring gold to be but rarely put in practice.

The examining the bottoms of rivers, and the gullies of torrents, and the waſhing the gold found therein from the ſand and dirt, with which it is always mixed, are works performed by ſlaves, who are principally negroes, kept in great numbers by the Portugueſe for theſe purpoſes. The regulation of the duty of theſe ſlaves is ſingular: for they are each of them obliged to furniſh their maſter with the eighth part of an ounce of gold *per diem*; and if they are either ſo fortunate or induſtrious as to collect a greater quantity, the ſurplus is conſidered as their own property, and they have liberty of diſpoſing of it as they think fit. So that it is ſaid ſome negroes, who have accidently fallen upon rich waſhing places, have themſelves purchaſed ſlaves, and have lived afterward in great ſplendor, their original maſter having no other demand on them than

the daily ſupply of the forementioned eighth; which, as the Portugueſe ounce is ſomewhat lighter than our Troy ounce, may amount to about nine ſhillings Sterling.

The quantity of gold thus collected in the Brazils, and returned annually to Liſbon may be in ſome degree eſtimated from the amount of the king's fifth. This hath of late been eſtimated, one year with another, to be one hundred and fifty arroves of 32 lb. Portugueſe weight each, which at L. 4 the Troy ounce, makes very near L. 300,000 Sterling; and conſequently the capital, of which this is the fifth, is about a million and a half Sterling. It is obvious that the annual return of gold to Liſbon cannot be leſs than this, though it be difficult to determine how much it exceeds it; perhaps we may not be very much miſtaken in our conjecture, if we ſuppoſe the gold exchanged for ſilver with the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, and what is brought privily to Europe, and eſcapes the duty, amounts to near half a million more, which will make the whole annual produce of the Brazilian gold near two millions Sterling; a prodigious ſum to be found in a country, which, a few years ſince, was not known to furniſh a ſingle grain.

I have already mentioned, that, beſides gold, this country does likewiſe produce diamonds. The diſcovery of theſe valuable ſtones is much more recent than that of gold; it being as yet ſcarce twenty years ſince the firſt were brought to Europe. They are found in the ſame manner as the gold, in the gullies of currents and beds of rivers, but only in particular places, and not ſo univerſally ſpread through the country. They were often found in waſhing the gold, before they were known to be diamonds, and were conſequently thrown away with the ſand and gravel ſeparated from it; and it is very well remembered, that numbers of very large ſtones, which would have

made the fortunes of the poſſeſſors, have paſſed unregarded through the hands of thoſe who now, with impatience, ſupport the mortifying reflection. However, about twenty years ſince, a perſon acquainted with the appearance of rough diamonds, conceived that theſe pebbles, as they were then eſteemed, were of the ſame kind; but it is ſaid that there was a conſiderable interval between the firſt ſtarting of this opinion, and the confirmation of it by proper trials and examination, it proving difficult to perſuade the inhabitants, that what they had long been accuſtomed to deſpiſe could be of the importance repreſented by this diſcovery. And I have been informed, that, in this interval, a governor of one of their places procured a good number of theſe ſtones, which he pretended to make uſe of at cards, to mark with inſtead of counters, But it was at laſt confirmed by ſkillful jewellers in Europe, conſulted on this occaſion, that the ſtones thus found in Brazil were truely diamonds, many of which were not inferior either in luſtre, or any other quality, to thoſe of the Eaſt Indies. On this determination, the Portugueſe, in the neighbourhood of theſe places where they had been firſt obſerved, ſet themſelves to ſearch for them with great aſſiduity. And they were not without great hopes of diſcovering conſiderable maſſes of them, as they found large rocks of chryſtal in many of the mountains from whence the ſtreams came which waſhed down the diamonds.

But it was ſoon repreſented to the king of Portugal, that if ſuch plenty of diamonds ſhould be met with as their ſanguine conjectures ſeemed to indicate, this would ſo debaſe their value, and diminiſh their eſtimation, that beſides ruining all the Europeans, who had any quantity of Indian diamonds in their poſſeſſion, it would render the diſcovery itſelf of no importance, and would prevent his Ma-

jeſty from receiving any advantages from it. And on theſe conſiderations his Majeſty has thought proper to reſtrain the general ſearch of diamonds, and has erected a diamond company for that purpoſe, with an excluſive charter. This company, in conſideration of a ſum paid to the king, is veſted with the property of all diamonds found in Brazil; but to hinder their collecting too large quantities and thereby reducing their value, they are prohibited from employing above eight hundred ſlaves in ſearching after them. And to prevent any of his other ſubjects from acting the ſame part, and likewiſe to ſecure the company from being defrauded by the interfering of interlopers in their trade and property, he has depopulated a large town, and a conſiderable diſtrict round it, and has obliged the inhabitants, who are ſaid to amount to ſix thouſand, to remove to another part of the country; for this town being in the neighbourhood of the diamonds, it was thought impoſſible to prevent ſuch a number of people who were on the ſpot from frequently ſmuggling.

In conſequence of theſe important diſcoveries in Brazil, new laws, new governments, and new regulations have been eſtabliſhed in many parts of the country. For not long ſince, a conſiderable tract poſſeſſed by a ſet of inhabitants, who, from their principal ſettlement were called Pauliſts, was almoſt independent of the crown of Portugal, to which it ſcarcely acknowledged more than a nominal allegiance. Theſe Pauliſts are ſaid to be deſcendants of thoſe Portugueſe who retired from the northern part of Brazil, when it was invaded and poſſeſſed by the Dutch. As, from the confuſion of the times, they were long neglected by their ſuperiors, and were obliged to provide for their own ſecurity and defence, the neceſſity of their affairs produced a kind of government amongſt them, which they found ſufficient

for the confined manner of life to which they were inured. And being thus habituated to their own regulations, they at length grew fond of their independency; ſo that rejecting and deſpiſing the mandates of the court of Liſbon, they were often engaged in a ſtate of downright rebellion; and the mountains ſurrounding their country, and the difficulty of clearing the few paſſages that open into it, generally put it in their power to make their own terms before they ſubmitted. But as gold was found to abound in this country of the Pauliſts, the preſent king of Portugal (during whoſe reign almoſt the whole diſcoveries I have mentioned were begun and completed) thought it incumbent on him to reduce this province, which now became of great conſequence, to the ſame dependency and obedience with the reſt of the country, which I am told he has at laſt, though with great difficulty, happily effected. And the ſame motives which induced his Majeſty to undertake the reduction of the Pauliſts, has alſo occaſioned the changes I have mentioned to have taken place at the iſland of St Catharine's. For the governor of Rio Grande, of whom I have already ſpoken, aſſured us that in the neighbourhood of this iſland there were conſiderable rivers, which were found to be extremely rich, and that this was the reaſon that a garriſon, a military governor, and a new colony was ſettled there. And as the harbour at this iſland is by much the ſecureſt, and the moſt capacious of any on that coaſt, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood anſwer their expectation, but it may become in time the principal ſettlement in Brazil, and the moſt conſiderable port in all South America.

Thus much I have thought neceſſary to inſert in relation to the preſent ſtate of Brazil, and of the iſland of St Catharine's. For as this laſt place has been generally recommended as the moſt eligible port

for our cruizers to refreſh at, which are bound to the South Seas. I believe it to be my duty to inſtruct my countrymen in the hitherto unexpected inconveniencies which attend that place. And as the Brazilian gold and diamonds are ſubjects about which, from their novelty, very few particulars have been hitherto publiſhed, I conceived this account I had collected of them would appear to the reader to be neither a trifling nor a uſeleſs digreſſion. Theſe ſubjects being thus diſpatched, I ſhall now return to the ſeries of our own proceedings.

When we firſt arrived at St Catharine's, we were employed in refreſhing our ſick on ſhore, in wooding and watering the ſquadron, cleanſing our ſhips, and examining and ſecuring our maſts and rigging, as I have already obſerved in the foregoing chapter. At the ſame time Mr Anſon gave directions, that the ſhips companies ſhould be ſupplied with freſh meat, and that they ſhould be victualled, with whole allowance of all the kinds of proviſion. In conſequence of theſe orders, we had freſh beef ſent on board us continually for our daily expence, and what was wanting to make up our allowance we received from our victualler, the Anna pink, in order to preſerve the proviſions on board our ſquadron entire for our future ſervice. The ſeaſon of the year growing each day leſs favourable for our paſſage round Cape Horn, Mr Anſon was very deſirous of leaving this place as ſoon as poſſible; and we were at firſt in hopes that our whole buſineſs would be done, and we ſhould be in a readineſs to ſail in about a fortnight from our arrival; but, on examining the Tryal's maſts, we to our no ſmall vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time. For, on a ſurvey, it was found that the main-maſt was ſprung at the upper woulding, though it was thought capable of being ſecured by a couple of fiſhes; but the fore-maſt was reported to

be unfit for ſervice, and thereupon the carpenters were ſent into the woods to endeavour to find a ſtick proper for a foremaſt; but, after a ſearch of four days, they returned without being able to meet with any tree fit for the purpoſe. This obliged them to come to a ſecond conſultation about the old fore-maſt, when it was agreed to endeavour to ſecure it by caſing it with three fiſhes; and in this work the carpenters were employed 'till within a day or two of our ſailing. In the mean time, the Commodore, thinking it neceſſary to have a clean veſſel on our arrival on the South Seas, ordered the Tryal to be hove down, as this would not occaſion any loſs of time, but might be completed while the carpenters were refitting her maſts, which was done on ſhore.

On the 27th of December we diſcovered a ſail in the offing; and not knowing but ſhe might be a Spaniard, the eighteen-oared boat was manned and armed, and ſent under the command of our ſecond lieutenant, to examine her before ſhe arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a Portugueſe brigantine from Rio Grande: and though our officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the utmoſt civility to the maſter, and had refuſed to accept a calf, which the maſter would have forced on him as a preſent; yet the governor took great offence at our ſending our boat, and talked of it in a high ſtrain, as a violation of the peace ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We at firſt imputed this ridiculous bluſtering to no deeper a cauſe than to Don Joſe's inſolence; but we found he proceeded ſo far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters and particularly with an attempt to take out of the veſſel by violence the very calf which we knew he had refuſed to receive as a preſent, (a circumſtance which we were ſatisfied the governor was well acquainted with), we

had reaſon to ſuſpect that he purpoſely ſought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it than the mere captious bias of his temper. What theſe motives were, it was not ſo eaſy for us to determine at that time; but it was afterwards found, by letters which fell into our hands in the South Seas, that he had diſpatched an expreſs to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay with an account of our ſquadron's arrival at St Catharine's, together with the moſt ample and circumſtantial intelligence of our force and condition, we thence conjectured that Don Joſe had raiſed this groundleſs clamour, only to prevent our viſiting the brigantine, when ſhe ſhould put to ſea again, leaſt we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour, and perhaps, at the ſame time, diſcover the ſecret of his ſmuggling correſpondence with his neighbouring governors, and the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres. But to proceed:

It was near a month before the Tryal was refitted, for not only her lower maſts were defective, as hath been already mentioned, but her main top-maſt and fore yard were likewiſe decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ſhips of the ſquadron fixed new ſtanding rigging, and ſet up a ſufficient number of preventer ſhrouds to each maſt, to ſecure them in the moſt effectual manner. And in order to render the ſhips ſtiffer, and to enable them to carry more ſail aboard, and to prevent their ſtraining their upper works in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him to ſtrike down ſome of their great guns into the hold. Theſe precautions being complied with, and each ſhip having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the Tryal was at laſt completed, and the whole ſquadron was ready for the ſea: on which the tents on ſhore were ſtruck, and all the ſick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how

much the healthineſs of this place had been overrated by former writers; for we found, that though the Centurion alone had buried no leſs than twenty-eight men ſince our arrival, yet the number of her ſick was, in the ſame interval, increaſed from eighty to ninety-ſix. When our crews were embarked, and every thing was prepared for our departure, the Commodore made a ſignal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the ſucceſſive places of rendezvous from hence to the coaſt of China; and then, on the next day, being the 18th of January, the ſignal was made for weighing, and the ſquadron put to ſea, leaving, without regret, this iſland of St Catharine's, where we had been ſo extremely diſappointed in our refreſhments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place which hath been ſo much celebrated for its hoſpitality, freedom, and conveniency.

CHAP. VI.

The run from St Catharine's to port St Julian, with ſome account of that port, and of the country to the ſouthward of the river of Plate.

IN leaving St Catharine's, we left the laſt amicable port we propoſed to touch at and were now proceeding to an hoſtile, or at beſt a deſert and inhoſpitable coaſt. And as we were to expect a more boiſterous climate to the ſouthward than any we had experienced, not only our danger of ſeparation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more miſchievous nature were likewiſe to be apprehended, and as much as

poſſible to be provided againſt. Mr Anſon, therefore in appointing the various ſtations at which the ſhips of the ſquadron were to rendezvous, had conſidered that it was poſſible his own ſhip might be diſabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be loſt, and had given proper directions, that even in that caſe the expedition ſhould not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the captains the day before we ſailed from St Catharine's, were, that in caſe of ſeparation which they were with the utmoſt care to endeavour to avoid, the firſt place of rendezvous ſhould be the bay of port St Julian, deſcribing the place from Sir John Narborough's account of it: there they were to ſupply themſelves with as much ſalt as they could take in, both for their own uſe, and for the uſe of the ſquadron; and if, after a ſtay of ten days, they were not joined by the Commodore, they were then to proceed through Streights le Maire, round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the iſland of Noſtra Senora del Socora, in the latitude of 45 South, and longitude from the Lizard 71: 12 weſt. They were to bring this iſland to bear E. N. E. and were to cruiſe from five to twelve leagues diſtance from it, as long as their ſtore of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmoſt frugality; and when they were under an abſolute neceſſity of a freſh ſupply they were to ſtand in and endeavour to find out an anchoring place; and, in caſe they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to ſupply their ſhips by ſtanding off and on, they were then to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of Juan Fernandes, in the latitude of 33: 37 S. At this iſland, as ſoon as they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruiſing off the anchoring place for fifty-ſix days; in which time if they were not joined by the Commodore, they might conclude that ſome

accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themſelves under the command of the ſenior officer, who was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to annoy the enemy both by ſea and land. With theſe views, their new Commodore was to continue in thoſe ſeas as long as his proviſions laſted, or as long as they were recruited by what he ſhould take from the enemy, reſerving only a ſufficient quantity to carry him and the ſhips under his command to Macao, at the entrance of the river of Canton, on the Coaſt of China, where having ſupplied himſelf with a new ſtock of proviſions, he was thence, without delay, to make the beſt of his way to England. And as it was found impoſſible as yet to unload our victualler, the Anna Pink, the Commodore gave the maſter of her the ſame rendezvous, and the ſame orders to put himſelf under the command of the remaining ſenior officer.

Under theſe orders the ſquadron ſailed from St Catharine's on Sunday the 18th of January, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter. The next day we had very ſqually weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder; but it ſoon became fair again with light breezes, and continued thus till Wedneſday evening, when it blew freſh again; and increaſing all night, by eight the next morning it became a moſt violent ſtorm, and we had with it ſo thick a fog, that it was impoſſible to ſee at the diſtance of two ſhips length ſo that the whole ſquadron diſappeared. On this a ſignal was made by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due eaſt. We ourſelves immediately handed the top-ſails, bunted the main-ſail, and lay to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog diſperſed, and we ſoon diſcovered all the ſhips of the ſquadron, except the Pearl, who did not join us till near a month afterwards. Indeed, the Tryal ſloop

was a great way to leeward, having loſt her main-maſt in the ſquall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We therefore bore down with the ſquadron to her relief, and the Glouceſter was ordered to take her in tow; for the weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then, a great ſwell continued from the eaſtward, in conſequence of the preceding ſtorm.

After this accident, we ſtood to the ſouthward with little interruption; and here we experienced the ſame ſetting of the current, which we had obſerved before our arrival at St Catharine's; that is, we generally found ourſelves to the ſouthward of our reckoning, by about twenty miles each day. This deviation, with a little inequality, laſted till we had paſſed the latitude of the river of Plate; and even then we diſcovered that the ſame current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place; for we were not ſatisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once, when a calm made it practicable.

As ſoon as we had paſſed the latitude of the river of Plate, we had ſoundings which continued all along the coaſt of Patagonia. Theſe ſoundings, when well aſcertained, being of great uſe in determining the poſition of the ſhip, and we having tried them more frequently, and in greater depths, and with more attention than I believe hath been done before us, I ſhall recite our obſervations as ſuccinctly as I can, referring to the chart, for a general view of the whole. In the latitude of 36: 52, we had ſixty fathom of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey ſand: from thence, to 39: 55, we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathom, though we had conſtantly the ſame bottom as before; between the

laſt mentioned latitude, and 43 : 16, we had only fine grey ſand, with the ſame variation of depths, except that we once or twice leſſened our water to forty fathom. After this we continued in forty fathom for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarſe ſand and broken ſhells, at which time we were in ſight of land, and not above ſeven leagues from it. As we edged from the land, we met with variety of ſoundings; firſt black ſand, then muddy, and ſoon after, rough grounded with ſtones: but when we had increaſed our water to forty-eight fathom, we had a muddy bottom to the latitude of 46 : 10. Hence, drawing towards the ſhore, we had firſt thirty-ſix fathom and ſtill kept ſhoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathom, having conſtantly ſmall ſtones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape Blanco, which lies in about the latitude of 47 : 10, and longitude weſt from London 69. This is the moſt remarkable land upon the coaſt. Steering from thence S. by E. nearly, we, in a run of about thirty leagues, deepened our water to fifty fathom, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing towards the ſhore with a S. W. courſe, varying rather to the weſtward, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom, till our coming into thirty fathom, where we had again a ſight of land, diſtant from us about eight leagues, lying in the latitude of 48 : 31. We made this land on the 17th of February; and at five that afternoon we came to an anchor, having the ſame ſoundings as before in the latitude of 48 : 58; the ſouthermoſt land then in view, bearing S. S. W. the northermoſt E. a ſmall iſland N. W. and the weſtermoſt hummock W. S. W. In this ſtation, we found the tide to ſet S. by W.; and weighing again at five the next morning, we, an hour afterwards diſcovered a ſail, upon which the Severn and Glouceſter were both directed to give

chace; but we ſoon perceived it to be the Pearl, which ſeparated from us a few days after we left St Catharine's, and on this we made a ſignal for the Severn to rejoin the ſquadron, leaving the Glouceſter alone in the purſuit. And now we were ſurpriſed to ſee, that on the Glouceſter's approach, the people on board the Pearl increaſed their ſail, and ſtood from her: however, the Glouceſter came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement: At two in the afternoon the Pearl joined us, and running up under our ſtern, Lieutenant Salt hailed the Commodore, and acquainted him, that Captain Kidd died on the 31ſt of January. He likewiſe informed us, that he had ſeen five large ſhips the 10th inſtant, which he for ſome time, imagined to be our ſquadron: ſo that he ſuffered the commanding ſhip, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly reſembling that of the Commodore, at the main top-maſt head, to come within gunſhot of him before he diſcovered his miſtake; but then finding it not to be the Centurion, he haled cloſe upon the wind, and crouded from them with all his ſail, and ſtanding acroſs a ripling, where they heſitated to follow him, he happily eſcaped. He made them to be five Spaniſh men of war, one of them exceedingly like the Glouceſter, which was the occaſion of his apprehenſions when the Glouceſter chaced him. By their appearance, he thought they conſiſted of two ſhips of ſeventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. It ſeems the whole ſquadron continued in chace of him all that day; but at night, finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chace, and directed their courſe to the ſouthward.

Had it not been for the neceſſity we were under for refitting the Tryal, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any ſtay at St Julian;

but as it was impoſſible for that ſloop to proceed round the Cape in her preſent condition, ſome ſtay there was inevitable; and therefore, the ſame evening, we came to an anchor again in twenty five fathom water, the bottom a mixture of mud and ſand, and the high hummock bearing S. W. by W. And, weighing at nine in the morning, we ſent the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Severn on ſhore, to diſcover the harbour of St Julian, while the ſhips kept ſtanding along the coaſt, about the diſtance of a league from the land. At ſix o'clock we anchored in the bay of St Julian, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with ſand, the northermoſt land in ſight bearing N. and by E. the ſouthermoſt S. E. and the high hummock, to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of Wood's Mount, W. S. W. Soon after, the cutter returned on board, having diſcovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our ſituation, the northermoſt point ſhutting in up the ſouthermoſt, and in appearance cloſing the entrance.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St Julian, principally with a view of refitting the Tryal, the carpenters were immediately employed in that buſineſs, and continued ſo during our whole ſtay at the place. The Tryal's mainmaſt having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the maſt. ſerve again; and the Wager was ordered to ſupply her with a ſpare main top-maſt, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-maſt. And I cannot help obſerving, that this accident to the Tryal's maſt which gave us ſo much uneaſineſs at that time, on account of the delay it occaſioned, was in all probability, the means of preſerving the ſloop, and all her crew. For before this, her maſts, how well ſoever proportioned to a better climate, were much too

lofty for theſe high ſouthern latitudes: ſo that, had they weathered the preceding ſtorm, it would have been impoſſible for them to have ſtood againſt theſe ſeas and tempeſts we afterwards encountered in paſſing round Cape Horn; and the loſs of maſts in that boiſterous climate, would ſcarcely have been attended with leſs than the loſs of the veſſel, and of every man on board her, ſince it would have been impracticable for the other ſhips to have given them any relief, during the continuance of thoſe impetuous ſtorms.

While we ſtaid at this place, the Commodore appointed the honourable Captain Murray to ſucceed to the Pearl, and Captain Cheap to the Wager; and he promoted Mr Charles Saunders, his firſt lieutenant, to the command of the Tryal ſloop. But Captain Saunders lying dangerouſly ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the ſurgeons, that the removing him on board his own ſhip, in his preſent condition, might tend to the hazard of his life; Mr Anſon gave an order to Mr Saumarez, firſt lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as maſter and commander of the Tryal during the illneſs of Captain Saunders.

Here the Commodore, too, in order to eaſe the expedition of all unneceſſary expence, held a farther conſultation with his captains about unloading and diſcharging the Anna pink; but they repreſented to him that they were ſo far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had ſtill great quantities of proviſions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ſhips were withal ſo very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the Commodore under a neceſſity of retaining the pink in the ſervice; and as it was apprehended we ſhould certainly meet with the Spaniſh ſquadron in paſſing the Cape, Mr

Anſon thought it adviſeable to give orders to the captains, to put all their proviſions, which were in the way of their guns, on board the Anna pink, and to remount ſuch of their guns as had formerly, for the eaſe of their ſhips, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of St Julian, where we were now at anchor, being a convenient rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, for all cruiſers bound to the ſouthward, and the whole coaſt of Patagonia, from the river of Plate to the Sreights of Magellan, lying nearly parallel to their uſual route, a ſhort account of the ſingularity of this country, with a particular deſcription of port St Julian, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future navigators, as ſome of them, by unforeſeen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land, and to make ſome ſtay on this coaſt; in which caſe the knowledge of the country, its produce, and inhabitants, cannot but be of the utmoſt conſequence to them.

To begin then with the tract of the country uſually ſtiled Patagonia. This is the name often given to the ſouthermoſt part of South America, which is unpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards, extending from their ſettlements to the ſtreights of Magellan. This country on the eaſt ſide, is extremely remarkable for a peculiarity not to be parallelled in any other known part of the globe: for though the whole territory to the northward of the river of Plate is full of wood, and ſtored with immenſe quantities of large timber trees, yet to the ſouthward of the river, no trees of any kind are to be met with, except a few peach trees, firſt planted and cultivated by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres; ſo that, on the whole eaſtern coaſt of Patagonia, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any diſcoveries have yet been

made, no other wood has been found than a few inſignificant ſhrubs. Sir John Narborough, in particular, who was ſent out by King Charles II. expreſsly to examine this country, and the ſtreights of Magellan, and who, in purſuance of his orders, wintered upon this coaſt, in Port St Julian, and Port Deſire, in the year 1670, Sir John Narborough, I ſay, tells us that he never ſaw a ſtick of wood in the country, large enough to make the handle of an hatchet.

But though the country be ſo deſtitute of wood, it abounds with paſture. For the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light, dry, gravelly ſoil; and produces great quantities of long coarſe graſs, which grows in turfs, interſperſed with large barren ſpots of gravel between them. This graſs, in many places, feeds immenſe herds of cattle; for the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres having, ſoon after their firſt ſettling there, brought over a few black cattle from Europe, they have thriven prodigiouſly by the plenty of herbage which they every where meet with: and are now increaſed to that degree, and are extended ſo far into different parts of Patagonia, that they are not conſidered as private property, but many thouſands, at a time, are ſlaughtered every year by the hunters, only for their hides and tallow. The manner of killing theſe cattle, being a practice peculiar to that part of the world, merits a more circumſtantial deſcription. The hunters employed on this occaſion, being all of them mounted on horſeback, (and both Spaniards and Indians, in that part of the world, are uſually excellent horſemen), they arm themſelves with a kind of ſpear, which, at its end, inſtead of a blade fixed in the ſame line with the wood, in the uſual manner, has its blade fixed acroſs; with this inſtrument they ride at a beaſt, and ſurround him, when the hunter that comes behind him hamſtrings him: and as, after this operation, the

beaſt ſoon tumbles, without being able to raiſe himſelf again, they leave him on the ground, and purſue others, whom they ſerve in the ſame manner. Sometimes there is a ſecond party who attend the hunters, to ſkin the cattle as they fall. But it is ſaid that, at other times the hunters chuſe to let them languiſh in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguiſh which the animal in the mean time endures, may burſt the lymphatics and thereby facilitate the ſeparation of the ſkin from the carcaſe; and though their prieſts have loudly condemned this moſt barbarous practice, and have gone ſo far, if my memory does not fail me, as to excommunicate thoſe who follow it, yet all their efforts to put an entire ſtop to it, have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Beſides the numbers of cattle which are every year ſlaughtered for their hides and tallow, in the manner already deſcribed, it is often neceſſary for the uſes of agriculture, and for other purpoſes, to take them alive without wounding them: this is performed with a moſt wonderful, and almoſt incredible dexterity, and principally by the uſe of a machine which the Engliſh, who have reſided at Buenos Ayres, generally denominate a laſh. It is made of a thong of ſeveral fathoms in length, and very ſtrong, with a running nooſe at one end of it: this the hunters (who, in this caſe, are alſo mounted on horſeback) take in their right hands, it being firſt properly coiled up, and having its end oppoſite to the nooſe faſtened to the ſaddle; and thus prepared, they ride at a herd of cattle. When they arrive within a certain diſtance of a beaſt, they throw their thong at him with ſuch exactneſs, that they never fail of fixing the nooſe about his horns. The beaſt, when he finds himſelf entangled, generally runs; but the horſe being ſwifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much ſtrained, till a ſecond hunter,

who follows the game, throws another nooſe about one of its hind legs; and this being done, both horſes (for they are trained to this practice) inſtantly turn different ways, in order to ſtrain the two thongs in contrary directions, on which the beaſt, by their oppoſite pulls, is preſently overthrown, and then the horſes ſtop, keeping the thong ſtill upon the ſtretch: being thus on the ground, and incapable of reſiſtance, (for he is extended between the two horſes), the hunters alight, and ſecure him in ſuch a manner, that they afterwards eaſily convey him to whatever place they pleaſe. They in like manner nooſe horſes, and it is ſaid, even tygers; and however ſtrange this laſt mentioned circumſtance may appear, there are not wanting perſons of credit who aſſert it. Indeed, it muſt be owned, that the addreſs both of the Spaniards and Indians, in that part of the world, in the uſe of this laſh or nooſe, and the certainty with which they throw it, and fix it on any intended part of the beaſt, at a conſiderable diſtance, are matters only to be believed from the repeated and concurrent teſtimony of all who have frequented that continent, and might reaſonably be queſtioned, did it rely on a ſingle report, or had it ever been contradicted or denied by any one who had reſided at Buenos Ayres.

The cattle which are killed in the manner I have already obſerved, are ſlaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which ſometimes are added their tongues; but the reſt of their fleſh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds or wild beaſts. The greateſt part of this carrion falls to the ſhare of the wild dogs, of which there are immenſe numbers to be found in that country.

Theſe are ſuppoſed to have been originally produced by Spaniſh dogs from Buenos Ayres, who, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and the facility they had by that means of ſubſiſting, left their

maſters, and ran wild amongſt the cattle; for they are plainly of the breed of the European dogs, an animal not originally found in America. But though thoſe dogs are ſaid to be ſome thouſands in company, they hitherto neither diminiſh nor prevent the increaſe of the cattle, not daring to attack the herds, by reaſon of the numbers which conſtantly feed together; but contenting themſelves with the carrion left them by the hunters, and perhaps now and then with a few ſtragglers, who by accident, are ſeparated from the main body they belong to.

Beſides the wild cattle which have ſpread themſelves in ſuch vaſt herds from Buenos Ayres towards the ſouthward, the ſame country is in like manner furniſhed with horſes. Theſe too were firſt brought from Spain, and are alſo prodigiouſly increaſed, and run wild to a much greater diſtance than the black cattle: and though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of very little value, the beſt of them being often ſold in the neighbouring ſettlements, where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a-piece. It is not as yet certain how far to the ſouthward theſe herds of wild cattle and horſes have extended themſelves; but there is ſome reaſon to conjecture, that ſtragglers of both kinds are to be met with very near the ſtreights of Magellan; and they will in time, doubtleſs fill all the ſouthern part of this continent with their breed, which cannot fail of proving of conſiderable advantage to ſuch ſhips as may touch upon the coaſt: for the horſes themſelves are ſaid to be very good eating, and as ſuch are preferred by ſome of the Indians even before the black cattle. But whatever plenty of freſh proviſions may be hereafter found here, there is one material refreſhment which this eaſtern ſide of Patagonia ſeems to be very defective in, and that is freſh water; for the land

being generally of a nitrous and ſaline nature, the ponds and ſtreams are frequently brackiſh. However, as good water has been found there, though in ſmall quantities, it is not improbable, but on a further ſearch this inconvenience may be removed.

To the account already given, I muſt add, that there are in all parts of this country a good number of vicunnos, or Peruvian ſheep; but theſe, by reaſon of their ſhyneſs and ſwiftneſs, are killed with difficulty. On the eaſtern coaſt, too, there are found immenſe quantities of ſeals, and a vaſt variety of ſea-fowl, amongſt which the moſt remarkable are the penguins: they are in ſize and ſhape like a gooſe, but, inſtead of wings, they have ſhort ſtumps like fins, which are of no uſe to them except in the water; their bills are narrow, like that of an albitroſs, and they ſtand and walk in an erect poſture. From this, and their white bellies, Sir John Narborough has whimſically likened them to little children ſtanding up in white aprons.

The inhabitants of this eaſtern coaſt (to which I have all along hitherto confined my relation) appear to be but few, and have rarely been ſeen more than two or three at a time, by any ſhips that have touched here. We, during our ſtay at the port of St Julian, ſaw none. However, towards Buenos Ayres they are ſufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troubleſome to the Spaniards; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate, yield them a better protection; for, in that place, the continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth, whereas at port St Julian it is little more than a hundred; ſo that I conceive, the ſame Indians, who frequent the weſtern coaſt of Patagonia, and the ſtreights of Magellan, often ramble to this ſide. As the Indians near Buenos Ayres exceed theſe ſouthern Indians in number, ſo they great-

ly ſurpaſs them in activity and ſpirit; and ſeem in their manners to be nearly allied to thoſe gallant Chilian Indians, who have long ſet the whole Spaniſh power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain to this hour independent. For the Indians about Buenos Ayres have learned to be excellent horſemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the uſe of fire arms, which the Spaniards are very ſolicitous to keep out of their hands. And of the vigour and reſolution of theſe Indians, the behaviour of Orellana and his followers, whom we have formerly mentioned, is a memorable inſtance. Indeed, were we diſpoſed to aim at the utter ſubverſion of the Spaniſh power in America, no means ſeem more probable to effect it, than due encouragement and aſſiſtance given to thoſe Indians, and thoſe of Chili.

Thus much may ſuffice in relation to the eaſtern coaſt of Patagonia: the weſtern coaſt is of leſs extent; and by reaſon of the Andes which ſkirt it, and ſtretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous ſhore. However, I ſhall be hereafter neceſſitated to make further mention of it, and therefore ſhall not enlarge thereon at this time, but conclude with a ſhort deſcription of the harbour of St Julian; the bar is often ſhifting, and has many holes in it; the tide flowing N. and S. which, at full and change, riſes four fathoms.

We, on our firſt arrival, ſent an officer on ſhore to the ſalt pond, in order to procure a quantity of ſalt for the uſe of the ſquadron, Sir John Narborough having obſerved, when he was here, that the ſalt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in February there was enough of it to fill a thouſand ſhips; but our officer returned with a ſample which was very bad, and he told us, that even of this there was but little to be got; I ſuppoſe the

weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had deſtroyed it.

CHAP. VII.

Departure from the bay of St Julian, and the paſſage from thence to Streights Le Maire.

THE Tryal being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St Julian, and the ſole occaſion of our ſtay, the Commodore thought it neceſſary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas, and the enemy's coaſt, to fix the plan of his firſt operations; and therefore, on the 24th of February, a ſignal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the Centurion, at which were preſent the honourable Edward Legge, Captain Matthew Mitchell, the honourable George Murray, Captain David Cheap, together with Colonel Mordaunt Chracherode, commander of the land forces. At this council Mr Anſon propoſed, their firſt attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, ſhould be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the diſtrict of Chili, Mr Anſon informing them at the ſame time, that it was an article contained in his Majeſty's inſtructions to him, to endeavour to ſecure ſome port in the South Seas, where the ſhips of the ſquadron might be careened and refitted. To this propoſition made by the Commodore the council unanimouſly and readily agreed: and in conſequence of this reſolution, new inſtructions were given to the captains of the ſquadron, by which, though they were ſtill directed, in caſe of ſeparation, to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of Nueſtra Senora del Socora,

yet, (notwithſtanding the orders he had formerly given them at St Catharine's), they were to cruiſe off that iſland only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the Commodore, they were to proceed and cruiſe off the harbour of Baldivia, making the land between the latitudes of 40 and 40: 30, and taking care to keep to the ſouthward of the port; and if in fourteen days there was no appearance of the Commodore, they were then to quit this ſtation, and to direct their courſe to the iſland of Juan Fernandes, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The ſame directions were alſo given to the maſter of the Anna pink, who was not to fail in anſwering the ſignals made by any ſhip of the ſquadron, and was to be very careful to deſtroy his papers and orders, if he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And as the ſeparation of the ſquadron might prove of the utmoſt prejudice to his Majeſty's ſervice, each captain was ordered to give it in charge to the reſpective officers of the watch, not to keep their ſhip at a greater diſtance from the Centurion than two miles, as they would anſwer it at their peril; and if any captain ſhould find his ſhip beyond the diſtance ſpecified, he was to acquaint the Commodore with the name of the officer who had thus neglected his duty.

Theſe neceſſary regulations being eſtabliſhed, and the Tryal ſloop completed, the ſquadron weighed on Friday the 27th of February, at ſeven in the morning, and ſtood to the ſea: the Glouceſter indeed found a difficulty in purchaſing her anchor, and was left a conſiderable way a-ſtern, ſo that in the night we fired ſeveral guns as a ſignal to her captain to make ſail; but he did not come up to us till the next morning, when we found, that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their beſt bower behind them. At ten in the morning, the day after

our departure, Wood's Mount, the high land over St Julian, bore from us N. by W. diſtant ten leagues, and we had fifty-two fathom of water. And now, ſtanding to the ſouthward, we had great expectation of falling in with Pizarro's ſquadron; for during our ſtay at port St Julian, there had generally been hard gales between the W. N. W. and S. W. ſo that we had reaſon to conclude, the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. Indeed it was the proſpect of meeting with them, that had occaſioned our Commodore to be ſo very ſolicitous to prevent the ſeparation of our ſhips; for, had we been ſolely intent upon getting round Cape Horn in the ſhorteſt time, the propereſt method for this purpoſe would have been, to have ordered each ſhip to have made the beſt of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the reſt.

From our departure from St Julian, to the 4th of March, we had little wind, with thick hazy weather, and ſome rain, and our ſoundings were generally from forty to fifty fathom, with a bottom of black and grey ſand, ſometimes intermixed with pebble ſtones. On the 4th of March, we were in ſight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from it. This cape is the northern boundary of the entrance of the ſtreights of Magellan; it lies in the latitude of 52: 21 ſouth, and longitude from London, 71: 44 weſt, and ſeems to be a low flat land ending in a point. Off this cape our depth of water was from thirty-five, to forty-eight fathom. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with ſmall breezes of wind, inclinable to a calm, and moſt of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a viſit to the Commodore; but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a ſudden flame which burſt out on board the Glouceſter, and

which was ſucceeded by a cloud of ſmoke. However, they were ſoon relieved from their apprehenſions, by receiving information, that the blaſt was occaſioned by a ſpark of fire from the forge, lighting on ſome gun-powder and other combuſtibles, which an officer on board was preparing for uſe, in caſe we ſhould fall in with the Spaniſh fleet, and that it had been extinguiſhed without any damage to the ſhip.

We here found what was conſtantly verified by all our obſervations in theſe high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding ſhort duration, and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain preſage of a ſucceeding ſtorm; for the calm and ſunſhine of our afternoon ended in a moſt turbulent night, the wind freſhning from the S. W. as the night came on, and increaſing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew ſo hard, that we were obliged to bring-to with the ſquadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time, from forty-three, to fifty-ſeven fathom water, with black ſand and gravel; and by an obſervation we had at noon, we concluded a current had ſet us twelve miles to the ſouthward of our reckoning. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made ſail again, and ſteering ſouth, we diſcovered in the morning for the firſt time, the land called Terra del Fuego, ſtreatching from the S. by W. to the S. S. E. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable proſpect, it appearing of a ſtupenduous height, covered every where with ſnow. We ſteered along this ſhore all day, having ſoundings from forty to fifty fathom, with ſtones and gravel. And as we intended to paſs through Streight Le Maire next day, we lay-to at night, that we might not overſhoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourſelves for the tempeſ-

tuous climate we were ſoon to be engaged in; with which view we employed ourſelves good part of the night in bending an entire new ſuit of ſails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of March, we made ſail, and at eight ſaw the land; and ſoon after, we began to open the ſtreights, at which time Cape St James bore from us E. S. E. Cape St Vincent S. E. half E. the middlemoſt of the three brothers S. and by W. Montegorda S. and Cape St Bartholomew, which is the ſouthermoſt point of Státen-land, E. S. E. And here I muſt obſerve, that though Frezier has given us a very correct proſpect of the part of Terra del Fuego which borders on the ſtreights, yet he has omitted that of Staten-land which forms the oppoſite ſhore: hence we found it difficult to determine exactly where the ſtreights lay, till they began to open to our view; and for want of this, if we had not happened to have coaſted a conſiderable way along the ſhore, we might have miſſed the ſtreights, and have got to the eaſtward of Staten-land before we knew it. This is an accident that has happened to many ſhips, particularly as Frezier mentions, to the Incarnation and Concord, who intending to paſs through Streights Le Maire, were deceived by three hills on Staten-land like the three brothers, and ſome creeks reſembling thoſe of Terra del Fuego, and thereby overſhot the ſtreights.

And on occaſion of this proſpect of Staten-land, I cannot but remark, that though Terra del Fuego had an aſpect extremely barren and deſolate, yet this iſland of Staten-land far ſurpaſſes it in the wildneſs and horror of its appearance, it ſeeming to be entirely compoſed of inacceſſible rocks, without the leaſt mixture of earth or mould between them. Theſe rocks terminate in a vaſt number of ragged points, which ſpire to a prodigious height, and are all of

them covered with everlaſting ſnow; the points themſelves are, on every ſide, ſurrounded with frightful precipices, and often over-hang in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner; and the hills which bear them are generally ſeparated from each other by narrow clefts, which appear as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes; for theſe chaſms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the ſubſtance of the main rocks, almoſt to their very bottoms: ſo that nothing can be imagined more ſavage and gloomy than the whole aſpect of this coaſt. But to proceed:

I have mentioned above, that on the 7th of March, in the morning, we opened Streights Le Maire, and ſoon after, or about ten o'clok, the Pearl and the Tryal being ordered to keep a-head of the ſquadron, we entered them with fair weather and a briſk gale, and were hurried through, by the rapidity of the tide, in about two hours, though they are between ſeven and eight leagues in length. As theſe ſtreights are often eſteemed to be the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and as we preſumed we had nothing before us, from whence, but an open ſea, till we arrived on thoſe opulent coaſts, where all our hopes and wiſhes centered, we could not help perſuading ourſelves, that the greateſt difficulty of our voyage was now as an end, and that our moſt ſanguine dreams were upon the point of being realiſed; and hence we indulged our imaginations in thoſe romantic ſchemes which the fancied poſſeſſion of Chilian gold and Peruvian ſilver might be conceived to inſpire. Theſe joyous ideas were conſiderably heightened by the brightneſs of the ſky, and ſerenity of the weather, which was indeed moſt remarkably pleaſing; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildneſs, gave place to none we had ſeen ſince our departure from England.

Thus animated by theſe flattering deluſions, we paſſed thoſe memorable ſtraits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities which were then impending, and juſt ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near when the ſquadron would be ſeparated never to unite again; and that this day of our paſſage was the laſt chearful day that the greateſt part of us would ever live to enjoy.

CHAP. VIII.

From Straits Le Maire to Cape Noir.

WE had ſcarcely reached the ſouthern extremity of the Straits Le Maire, when our flattering hopes were inſtantly loſt in the apprehenſions of immediate deſtruction; for, before the ſternmoſt ſhips of the ſquadron were clear of the Straits, the ſerenity of the ſky was ſuddenly obſcured, and we obſerved all the preſages of an impending ſtorm; and preſently the wind ſhifted to the ſouthward, and blew in ſuch violent ſqualls, that we were obliged to hand our top-ſails, and reef our main-ſail; whilſt the tide too, which had hitherto favoured us, at once turned furiouſly againſt us, and drove us to the eaſtward with prodigious rapidity, ſo that we were in great anxiety for the Wager and the Anna pink, the two ſternmoſt veſſels, fearing they would be daſhed to pieces againſt the ſhore of Staten-land; nor were our apprehenſions without foundation, for it was with the utmoſt difficulty they eſcaped; and now the whole ſquadron, inſtead of purſuing their intended courſe to S. W. were driven to the eaſtward by the united force of the ſtorm and of the currents; ſo that next day, in the morning, we found ourſelves

near ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of Straits Le Maire, which then bore from us, N. W. The violence of the current which had ſet us with ſo much precipitation to the eaſtward, together with the fierceneſs and conſtancy of the weſterly winds, ſoon taught us to conſider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprize that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though ſome amongſt us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were ſaid to have met with in this undertaking as little better than chimerical, and had ſuppoſed them to ariſe rather from timidity and unſkilfulneſs, than from the real embaraſſments of the winds and ſeas; but we were now ſeverely convinced that theſe cenſures were raſh and ill grounded; for the diſtreſſes with which we ſtruggled during the three ſucceeding months will not eaſily be paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by thoſe who ſhall carefully peruſe the enſuing narration.

From the ſtorm which came on before we had well got clear of Straits Le Maire, we had a continual ſucceſſion of ſuch tempeſtuous weather as ſurpriſed the oldeſt and moſt experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confeſs, that what they had hitherto called ſtorms were inconſiderable gales, compared with the violence of theſe winds, which raiſed ſuch ſhort, and at the ſame time ſuch mountainous waves, as greatly ſurpaſſed in danger all ſeas known in any other part of the globe; and it was not without great reaſon that this unuſual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of theſe waves broke fairly over us, it muſt, in all probability have ſent us to the bottom. Nor did we eſcape with terror only, for the ſhip rolling inceſſantly gunwale-to, gave us ſuch quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being daſh-

ed to pieces againſt the decks or ſides of the ſhip. And though we were extremely careful to ſecure ourſelves from theſe ſhocks, by graſping ſome fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold; ſome of whom were killed, and others greatly injured: in particular, one of our beſt ſeamen was canted overboard and drowned, another diſlocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main hold and broke his thigh, and one of our boatſwain's mates broke his collar bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the ſame kind. Theſe tempeſts, ſo dreadful in themſelves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumſtance, were yet rendered more miſchievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at ſome times afforded; for though we were oftentimes obliged to lie-to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles; yet now and then we ventured to make ſail with our courſes double reefed, and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps, encourage us to ſet our top-ſails; after which the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an inſtant tear our ſails from the yard. And that no circumſtance might be wanting which could aggrandiſe our diſtreſs, theſe blaſts generally brought with them a great quantity of ſnow and ſleet, which caſed our rigging, and froze our ſails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to ſnap upon the ſlighteſt ſtrain, adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ſhip, benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themſelves with their uſual activity, and even diſabling many of them by mortifying their toes and fingers. It were indeed endleſs to enumerate the various diſaſters of different kinds which befel us: and I ſhall only mention the

moſt material, which will ſufficiently evince the calamitous condition of the whole ſquadron during the courſe of this navigation.

It was on the 7th of March, as hath been already obſerved, that we paſſed Straits Le Maire, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eaſtward by a violent ſtorm, and the force of the current, which ſet that way. For the four or five ſucceeding days we had hard gales of wind from the ſame quarter, with a moſt prodigious ſwell; ſo that though we ſtood during all that time towards the S. W. yet had we no reaſon to imagine we had made any way to the weſtward. In this interval we had frequent ſqualls of rain and ſnow, and ſhipped great quantities of water; after which, for three or four days, though the ſeas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate; but on the 18th we had again ſtrong gales of wind, with extreme cold, and at mid-night, the main top-ſail ſplit, and one of the ſtraps of the main dead-eyes broke. From whence, to the 23d, the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and ſleet, and ſome hard gales; but as the waves did not ſubſide, the ſhip, by labouring in this lofty ſea, was now grown ſo looſe in her upper works, that ſhe let in the water at every ſeam, ſo that every part within board was conſtantly expoſed to the ſea-water, and ſcarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare, that ever two nights paſſed without many of them being driven from their beds, by the deluge of water that came in upon them.

On the 23d we had a moſt violent ſtorm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great ſea; and though we handed the main top-ſail before the height of the ſquall, yet we found the yard ſprung: and ſoon after, the ſoot-rope of the main ſail breaking, the main-ſail ſplit itſelf inſtantly to rags, and in ſpite of our

endeavours to ſave it, much the greater part of it was blown over-board. On this the Commodore made the ſignal for the ſquadron to bring-to; and the ſtorm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main topſail-yard, to put the carpenters to work upon it, and of repairing our rigging; after which, having bent a new main-ſail, we got under ſail again with a moderate breeze: but in leſs than twenty-four hours we were attacked by another ſtorm ſtill more furious that the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the neceſſity of lying-to under our bare poles. As our ſhip kept the wind better than any of the reſt, we were obliged in the afternoon to wear ſhip, in order to join the ſquadron to the leeward, which otherwiſe we ſhould have been in danger of loſing in the night; and as we dared not venture any ſail abroad, we were obliged to make uſe of an expedient which anſwered our purpoſe, this was putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-ſhrouds: But though this method proved ſucceſsful for the end intended, yet, in the execution of it, one of our ableſt ſeamen was canted over-board; we perceived that, notwithſtanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, he ſwam very ſtrong, and it was with the utmoſt concern that we found ourſelves incapable of aſſiſting him; indeed we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, as we loſt ſight of him ſtruggling with the waves, and conceived, from the manner in which he ſwam, that he might continue ſenſible for a conſiderable time longer of the horror attending his irretrievable ſituation.

Before this laſt-mentioned ſtorm was quite abated, we found two of our main-ſhrouds, and one mizen-ſhroud broke, all which we knotted, and ſet up immediately. From hence we had an interval of three or four days leſs tempeſtuous than uſual, but accom-

panied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almoſt every half hour, to keep our ſquadron together. On the 31ſt we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Glouceſter, and a ſignal made by her to ſpeak with the Commodore; we immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of ſome terrible diſaſter; but we were appriſed of it before we joined her, for we ſaw that her main-yard was broke in the ſlings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture, as it was obvious, it would prove an hindrance to our ſailing, and would detain us the longer in theſe inhoſpitable latitudes. But our future ſucceſs and ſafety was not to be promoted by repining, but by reſolution and activity; and therefore, that this unhappy incident might delay us as little as poſſible, the Commodore ordered ſeveral carpenters to be put on board the Glouceſter, from the other ſhips of the ſquadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmoſt expedition. And the captain of the Tryal complaining at the ſame time, that his pumps were ſo bad, and the ſloop made ſo great a quantity of water, that he was ſcarcely able to keep her free, the Commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ſhip. It was very fortunate for the Glouceſter and and Tryal, that the weather proved more favourable this day, than for many days both before and after; ſince by this means they were enabled to receive the aſſiſtance which ſeemed eſſential to their preſervation, and which they could ſcarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

The next day, that is on the 1ſt of April, the weather returned again to its cuſtomary bias, the ſky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to freſhen and to blow in ſqualls; however, it was not yet ſo boiſterous, as to prevent our carrying our top-

ſails cloſe reefed; but its appearance was ſuch, as plainly prognoſticated that a ſtill ſeverer tempeſt was at hand: and accordingly, on the 3d of April, there came on a ſtorm, which both in its violence and continuation (for it laſted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its firſt onſet, we received a furious ſhock from a ſea which broke upon our larboard-quarter, where it ſtove in the quarter-gallery, and ruſhed into the ſhip like a deluge; our rigging too ſuffered extremely from the blow: amongſt the reſt, one of the ſtraps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was alſo a main ſhroud and puttock ſhroud; ſo that to eaſe the ſtreſs upon the maſts, and ſhrouds, we lowered both our main and fore-yards, and furled all our ſails, and, in this poſture, we lay-to for three days, when the ſtorm ſomewhat abating, we ventured to make ſail under our courſes only, but even this we could not do long; for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lay-to again till night. It was wonderful that, notwithſtanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the ſquadron ſince the breaking of the Glouceſter's main yard: but this good fortune now no longer attended us; for, at three the next morning, ſeveral guns were fired to leeward as ſignals of diſtreſs: and the Commodore making a ſignal for the ſquadron to bring-to, we, at day-brake, ſaw the Wager a conſiderable way to leeward of any of the other ſhips; and we ſoon perceived that ſhe had loſt her mizen maſt, and main top-ſail-yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this diſaſter had ariſen from the badneſs of her iron-work; for all the chain plates to windward had given way, upon the ſhip's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the

Glouceſter ever ſince the 31ſt of March, and the weather was now too ſevere to permit him to return: nor was the Wager the only ſhip of the ſquadron that ſuffered in this tempeſt; for the next day, a ſignal of diſtreſs was made by the Anna pink, and, upon ſpeaking with the maſter, we learned that they had broke their fore-ſtay, and the gammon of the bowſprit, and were in no ſmall danger of having all their maſts come by the board; ſo that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all faſt, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our ſolicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind to which we had been inceſſantly expoſed for near forty days, we had great conſolation, in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we ſhould ſoon arrive in a more hoſpitable climate, where we ſhould be amply repaid for all our paſt ſufferings. For towards the latter end of March, we were advanced, by our reckoning, near 10 deg. to the weſtward of the weſtermoſt point of Terra del Fuego: and this allowance being double what former navigators have thought neceſſary to be taken, in order to compenſate the drift of the weſtern current, we eſteemed ourſelves to be well advanced within the limits of the ſouthern ocean, and had therefore been ever ſince, ſtanding to the northward with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather, and our frequent diſaſters, permitted. And, on the 31ſt of April, we were but a degree in latitude to the ſouthward of the weſt entrance of the Straits of Magellan; ſo that we fully expected in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the Pacific ocean.

But theſe were deluſions which only ſerved to render our diſappointment more terrible; for the next morning, between one and two, as we were ſtand-

ing to the northward, and the weather which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the pink made a ſignal for ſeeing land right a-head, and it being but two miles diſtance, we were all under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of running on ſhore: which, had either the wind blown from its uſual quarter, with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon ſuddenly ſhone out, not a ſhip amongſt us could poſſibly have avoided: but the wind, which ſome few hours before blew in ſqualls from the S. W. having fortunately ſhifted to W. N. W. we were enabled to ſtand to the ſouthward and to clear ourſelves of this unexpected danger, and were fortunate enough by noon, to have gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Terra del Fuego, near the ſouthern outlet deſcribed in Frezier's chart of the Straits of Magellan, and was ſuppoſed to be that point called by him Cape Noir. It was indeed moſt wonderful, that the currents ſhould have driven us to the eaſtward with ſuch ſtrength: for the whole ſquadron eſteemed themſelves upwards of ten degrees more weſterly than this land; ſo that, in running down by our account about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced half that diſtance. And now, inſtead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate, and more tranquil ſeas, we were to ſteer again to the ſouthward, and were again to combat thoſe weſtern blaſts which had ſo often terrified us: and this too, when we were greatly enfeebled by our men falling ſick, and dying apace, and when our ſpirits, dejected by a long continuance at ſea, and by our late diſappointment, were much leſs capable of ſupporting us in the various difficulties which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the diſcouragement we received by the diminution of the ſtrength

of the ſquadron; for, three days before this, we loſt ſight of the Severn and the Pearl in the morning; and though we ſpread our ſhips, and beat about for them ſome time, yet we never ſaw them more; whence we had apprehenſions that they too might have fallen in with this land in the night, and, by being leſs favoured by the wind and the moon than we were, might have run on ſhore, and have periſhed. Full of theſe deſponding thoughts and gloomy preſages, we ſtood away to the S. W. prepared, by our late diſaſter, to ſuſpect, that how large ſoever an allowance we made in our weſting for the drift of the weſtern current, we might ſtill, upon a ſecond trial, perhaps find it inſufficient.

CHAP. IX.

Obſervations and directions for facilitating the paſſages of our future cruiſers round Cape Horn.

THE improper ſeaſon of the year, in which we attempted to double Cape Horn, and to which is to be imputed the diſappointment (recited in the foregoing chapter) of falling in with Terra del Fuego, when we reckoned ourſelves above a hundred leagues to the weſtward of that whole coaſt, and conſequently well advanced into the Pacific ocean; this unſeaſonable navigation, I ſay, to which we were neceſſitated by our too late departure from England, was the fatal ſource of all the misfortunes we afterwards encountered. For from hence proceeded the ſeparation of our ſhips, the deſtruction of our people, the ruin of our project at Baldivia, and of all our other views on the Spaniſh places, and the reduction of our ſquadron from the formidable condition in

which it paſſed Straits Le Maire, to a couple of ſhattered, half manned cruiſers, and a ſloop, ſo far diſabled, that in many climates they ſcarcely durſt put to ſea. To prevent therefore, as much as in me lies, all ſhips hereafter bound to the South Seas from ſuffering the ſame calamities, I think it my duty to inſert in this place, ſuch directions and obſervations as either my own experience and reflection, or the converſation of the moſt ſkilful navigators on board the ſquadron could furniſh me with, in relation to the moſt eligible manner of doubling Cape Horn, whether in regard to the ſeaſon of the year, the courſe proper to be ſteered, or the places of refreſhment, both on the eaſt and weſt ſide of South America.

And firſt, with regard to the proper place for refreſhment on the eaſt ſide of South America. For this purpoſe the iſland of St Catharine's has been uſually recommended by former writers, and on their faith we put in there, as has been formerly mentioned: but the treatment we met with, and the ſmall ſtore of refreſhments we could procure there, are ſufficient reaſons to render all ſhips, for the future, cautious how they truſt themſelves in the government of Don Joſe Sylva de Paz; for they may certainly depend on having their ſtrength, condition, and deſigns betrayed to the Spaniards, as far as the knowledge the governor can obtain of thoſe particulars will give him leave. And as this treacherous conduct is inſpired by the views of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river of Plate, rather than by any national affection which the Portugueſe bear the Spaniards, the ſame perfidy may perhaps be expected from moſt of the governors of the Brazil coaſt; ſince theſe ſmuggling engagements are doubtleſs very extenſive and general. And though the governors ſhould themſelves deteſt ſo faithleſs a procedure; yet as ſhips are perpetually paſſing from ſome one or other

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CHAP. IX.

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of the Brazil ports to the river of Plate, the Spaniards could ſcarcely fail of receiving, by this means, caſual intelligence of any Britiſh ſhips upon the coaſt; which, however imperfect ſuch intelligence might be, would prove of dangerous import to the views and intereſts of thoſe cruiſers who were thus diſcovered.

For the Spaniſh trade, in the South Seas, running all in one track from north to ſouth, with very little deviation to the eaſtward or weſtward, it is in the power of two or three cruiſers, properly ſtationed in different parts of this track, to poſſeſs themſelves of every ſhip that puts to ſea; but this only ſo long as they can continue concealed from the neighbouring coaſt; for the inſtant an enemy is known to be in thoſe ſeas, all navigation is prohibited, and conſequently all captures are at an end; ſince the Spaniards, well appriſed of theſe advantages of the enemy, ſend expreſſes along the coaſt, and lay a general embargo on all their trade; a meaſure which they prudentially foreſee will not only prevent their veſſels being taken, but will ſoon lay any cruiſers, who have not ſtrength ſufficient to attempt their places, under neceſſity of returning home. Hence then appears the great importance of concealing all expeditions of this kind; and hence too it follows how extremely prejudicial that intelligence may prove, which is given by the Portugueſe governors to the Spaniards in relation to the deſigns of ſhips touching at the ports of Brazil.

However, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies we have mentioned of touching on the coaſt of Brazil, it will oftentimes happen, that ſhips bound round Cape Horn will be obliged to call there for a ſupply of wood and water, and other refreſhments. In this caſe, St Catharine's is the laſt place I would recommend; both as the proper animals for a live ſtock at ſea, as hogs, ſheep, and fowls, cannot be procured

there, (for want of which we found ourſelves greatly diſtreſſed, by being reduced to live almoſt entirely on ſalt proviſions); and alſo becauſe from its being nearer the river of Plate than many of their other ſettlements, the inducements and inconveniencies of betraying us are much ſtronger. The place I would recommend is Rio de Janeiro, where two of our ſquadron put in after they were ſeparated from us in paſſing Cape Horn; for here, as I have been informed by one of the gentlemen on board thoſe ſhips, any quantity of hogs and poultry may be procured, and this place being more diſtant from the river Plate, the difficulty of intelligence is ſomewhat inhanced, and conſequently the chance of continuing there undiſcovered, in ſome degree augmented. Other meaſures, which may effectually obviate all theſe embarraſſments, ſhall be conſidered more at large hereafter.

I next proceed to the conſideration of the proper courſe to be ſteered for doubling Cape Horn. And here, I think, I am ſufficiently authoriſed, by our own fatal experience, and by a careful compariſon and examination of the journals of former navigators, to give this piece of advice, which, in prudence, I think, ought never to be departed from; that is, that all ſhips bound to the South Seas, inſtead of paſſing through Straits Le Maire, ſhould conſtantly paſs to the eaſtward of Staten-land, and ſhould be invariably bent on running to the ſouthward, as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavour to ſtand to the weſtward; and that when they are got into that latitude, they ſhould then make ſure of ſufficient weſting, before they once think of ſteering to the northward.

But as directions diametrically oppoſite to theſe have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent on me to produce my reaſons for each part of

this maxim. And firſt, as to the paſſing to the eaſtward of Staten-land; thoſe who have attended to the riſk we ran in paſſing the Straits Le Maire, the danger we were in of being driven upon Staten-land by the current, when though we happily eſcaped being but on ſhore, we were yet carried to the eaſtward of that iſland; thoſe who reflect on this, and the like accidents, which have happened to other ſhips, will ſurely not eſteem it prudent to paſs through Straits Le Maire, and run the riſk of ſhipwreck, and after all find themſelves no farther to the weſtward (the only reaſon hitherto given for this practice) than they might have been in the ſame time, by a ſecure navigation in an open ſea.

And next, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61 or 62 ſouth, before any endeavour is made to ſtand to the weſtward: the reaſons for this precept are, that in all probability the violence of the currents will be hereby avoided and the weather will prove leſs tempeſtuous and uncertain. This laſt circumſtance we ourſelves experienced moſt remarkably; for after we had unexpectedly fallen in with the land, as has been mentioned in the preceeding chapter, we ſtood away to the ſouthward to run clear of it, and were no ſooner advanced into ſixty degrees or upwards, but we met with much better weather and ſmoother water than in any other part of the whole paſſage: the air indeed was very cold and ſharp, and we had ſtrong gales, but they were ſteady and uniform, and we had, at the ſame time, ſunſhine and a clear ſky; whereas in the lower latitudes, the winds every now and then intermitted, as it were to recover new ſtrength, and then returned ſuddenly in the moſt violent guſts, threatening at each blaſt the loſs of our maſts, which muſt have ended in our certain deſtruction. And that the currents in this high latitude would be of

much leſs efficacy than nearer the land, ſeems to be evinced from theſe conſiderations, that all currents ran with greater violence near the ſhore than at ſea, and that, at great diſtances from ſhore they are ſcarcely perceptible. Indeed the reaſon of this ſeems ſufficiently obvious, if we conſider that conſtant currents are in all probability produced by conſtant winds, the wind driving before it, though with a ſlow and imperceptible motion, a large body of water, which being accumulated upon any coaſt it meets with, muſt eſcape along the ſhore by the endeavours of its ſurface to reduce itſelf to the ſame level with the reſt of the ocean. And it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that thoſe violent guſts of wind which we experienced near the ſhore, ſo very different from what we found in the latitude of 60 and upwards, may be owing to a ſimilar cauſe; for a weſterly wind almoſt perpetually prevails in the ſouthern part of the Pacific ocean: and this current of air being interrupted by thoſe immenſe hills called the Andes, and by the mountains on Terra del Fuego, which together bar up the whole country to the ſouthward, as far as Cape Horn, a part of it can only force its way over the tops of thoſe prodigious precipices, whilſt the reſt muſt naturally follow the direction of the coaſt, and muſt range down the land to the ſouthward, and ſweep with an impetuous and irregular blaſt round Cape Horn, and the ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego. However, not to rely on theſe ſpeculations, we may, I believe, eſtabliſh as inconteſtible, theſe matters of fact, that, both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the weſtern gales, are leſs ſenſible in the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, than nearer the ſhore of Terra del Fuego.

But though I am ſatisfied, both from our own experience and relation of other navigators, of the importance of the precept I here inſiſt on, that of

running into the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before any adventures are made to ſtand to the weſtward; yet I would adviſe no ſhips hereafter to truſt ſo far to this management as to neglect another almoſt eſſential maxim, which is, the making this paſſage in the height of ſummer, that is, in the months of December and January; and the more diſtant the time of paſſage is taken from this ſeaſon, the more diſaſtrous it may be reaſonably expected to prove. Indeed, if the mere violence of the weſtern winds be conſidered, the time of our paſſage, which was about the equinox, was perhaps the moſt unfavorable of the whole year; but then it muſt be remembered, that independent of the winds, there are, in the depths of the winter, many other inconveniencies to be apprehended, which are almoſt inſuperable: for the ſeverity of the cold, and the ſhortneſs of the days, would render it impracticable at that ſeaſon to run ſo far to the ſouthward as is here recommended; and the ſame reaſons would greatly augment the alarms of ſailing in the neighbourhood of an unknown ſhore, dreadful in its appearance in the midſt of ſummer, and would make a winter navigation on this coaſt to be of all others the moſt diſmaying and terrible. As before, I would adviſe all ſhips to make their paſſage in December and January, if poſſible; ſo I would warn them never to attempt the doubling of Cape Horn from the eaſtward, after the month of March.

And now, as to the remaining conſideration, that is, the propereſt port for cruiſers to refreſh at on their firſt arrival in the South Seas: on this head there is ſcarcely any choice, the iſland of Juan Fernandes being the only place that can be prudently recommended for this purpoſe. For though there are many ports on the weſtern ſide of Patagonia, between the Straits of Magellan and the Spaniſh

ſettlements, (a plan of one of which will be referred to in the courſe of this work), where ſhips might ride in great ſafety, might recruit their wood and water, and might procure ſome few refreſhments; yet that coaſt is in itſelf ſo dangerous, from its numerous rocks and breakers, and from the violence of the weſtern winds, which blow conſtantly full upon it, that it is by no means adviſable to fall in with that land at leaſt till the roads, channels, and anchorage, in each part of it are accurately ſurveyed, and both the perils and ſhelters it abounds with are more diſtinctly known.

Thus having given the beſt directions in my power for the ſucceſs of our cruiſers who may be hereafter bound to the South Seas, it might be expected that I ſhould again reſume the thread of my narration. Yet as, both in the preceding and ſubſequent part of this work, I have thought it my duty, not only to recite all ſuch facts, and to inculcate ſuch maxims as had the leaſt appearance of proving beneficial to future navigators; but alſo, occaſionally to recommend ſuch meaſures to the public, as I conceive are adapted to promote the ſame laudable purpoſe; I cannot deſiſt from the preſent ſubject, without beſeeching thoſe to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is committed, to endeavour to remove the many perplexities and embarraſſments with which the navigation to the South Seas is at preſent neceſſarily incumbered. An effort of this kind could not fail of proving highly honourable to themſelves, and extremely beneficial to the country: For it ſeems to be ſufficiently evident, that whatever improvements navigation ſhall receive, either by the invention of methods that ſhall render its practice leſs hazardous, or by the more accurate delineation of the coaſts, roads, and ports already known, or by the diſcovery of new nations, or new ſpecies of commerce; it

ſeems, I ſay, ſufficiently evident, that by whatever means navigation is promoted, the conveniencies hence ariſing muſt ultimately redound to the emolument of Great Britain. Since, as our fleets are at preſent ſuperior to thoſe of the whole world united, it muſt be a matchleſs degree of ſupineneſs or mean ſpiritedneſs, if we permitted any of the advantages which new diſcoveries, or a more extended navigation, may produce to mankind, to be raviſhed from us.

As therefore it appears that all our future expeditions to the South Seas muſt run a conſiderable riſk of proving abortive, whilſt in our paſſage thither we are under the neceſſity of touching at Brazil, the diſcovery of ſome place more to the ſouthward, where ſhips might refreſh and ſupply themſelves with the neceſſary ſea-ſtock for their voyage round Cape Horn, would be an expedient which would relieve us from this embarraſſment, and would ſurely be a matter worthy of the attention of the public. Nor does this ſeem difficult to be effected: For we have already the imperfect knowledge of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpoſe; one of them is Pepy's iſland, in the latitude of 47 ſouth, and laid down by Dr Hally, about eight leagues to the eaſtward of Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Patagonia; the other is Falkland's iſles, in the latitude of 51, lying nearly ſouth of Pepy's iſland. The firſt of theſe was diſcovered by Captain Cowley, in his voyage round the world in the year 1686, who repreſents it as a commodious place for ſhips to wood and water at, and ſays it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thouſand ſail of ſhips might ride at anchor in great ſafety; that it abounds with fowls; and that, as the ſhore is either rocks or ſands, it ſeems to promiſe great plenty of fiſh. The ſecond place, or

Falkland's iſles, have been ſeen by many ſhips, both French and Engliſh, being the land laid down by Frezier, in his chart of the extremity of South America, under the title of the New iſlands. Woods Rogers, who run along the N. E. coaſt of theſe iſles, in the year 1708, tell us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle deſcents from hill to hill, and ſeemed to be good ground, interſperſed with woods, and not deſtitute of harbours. Either of theſe places, as they are iſlands at a conſiderable diſtance from the continent, may be ſuppoſed, from their latitude, to ly in a climate ſufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at preſent recommended as the moſt eligible places of refreſhment for ſhips bound to the ſouthward: but if the Admiralty ſhould think it adviſeable to order them to be ſurveyed, which may be done at a very ſmall expence, by a veſſel fitted out on purpoſe; and if, on this examination, one or both of thoſe places, ſhould appear proper for the purpoſe intended, it is ſcarcely to be conceived of what prodigious import a convenient ſtation might prove, ſituated ſo far to the ſouthward, and ſo near Cape Horn. The Duke and Ducheſs of Briſtol were but thirty-five days from their loſing ſight of Falkland's iſles, to their arrival at Juan Fernandes in the South Seas: and as the returning back is much facilitated by the weſtern winds, I doubt not but a voyage might be made from Falkland's iſles to Juan Fernandes, and back again, in little more than two months. This, even in time of peace, might be of great conſequence to this nation, and, in time of war, would make us maſters of thoſe ſeas.

And as all diſcoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to thoſe who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconſiderable expence, ſince ſmall veſſels are much the propereſt to be em-

ployed in this ſervice; it were to be wiſhed, that the whole coaſt of Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, and Staten-land, were carefully ſurveyed, and the numerous channels, roads, and harbours, with which they abound, were accurately examined. This might open to us facilities of paſſing into the Pacific ocean, which as yet we may be unacquainted with, and would render all that ſouthern navigation infinitely ſecurer than at preſent; particularly an exact draught of the weſt coaſt of Patagonia, from the Straits of Magellan to the Spaniſh ſettlements, might perhaps furniſh us with better and more convenient ports for refreſhments, and better ſituate for the purpoſes either of war or commerce, and above a fortnight's ſail nearer to Falkland's iſland, than the iſland of Juan Fernandes. The diſcovery of this coaſt hath formerly been thought of ſuch conſequence, by reaſon of its neighbourhood to the Araucos, and other Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at leaſt on ill terms with their Spaniſh neighbours, that Sir John Narborough, was purpoſely fitted out, in the reign of King Charles II. to ſurvey the Straits of Magellan, the neighbouring coaſt of Patagonia, and the Spaniſh forts on that frontier, with directions, if poſſible, to procure ſome intercourſe with the Chilian Indians, and to eſtabliſh a commerce and a laſting correſpondence with them. His Majeſty's view in employing Sir John Narborough in this expedition, was not ſolely the advantage he might hope to receive from the alliance of thoſe ſavages, in reſtaining and intimidating the crown of Spain; but he conceived that, independent of thoſe motives, the immediate traffic with theſe Indians might prove extremely advantageous to the Engliſh nation. For it is well known, that at the firſt diſcovery of Chili by the Spaniards, it abounded with vaſt quantities of gold, much beyond what it has at

any time produced ſince it has been in their poſſeſſion. And hence it has been generally believed, that the richeſt mines are carefully concealed by the Indians, as well knowing that the diſcovery of them would only excite in the Spaniards a greater thirſt for conqueſt and tyranny, and would render their own independence more precarious. But, with reſpect to their commerce with the Engliſh, theſe reaſons would no longer influence them; ſince it would be in our power to furniſh them with arms and ammunition of all kinds, of which they are extremely deſirous, together with many other conveniencies which their intercourſe with the Spaniards has taught them to reliſh. They would then in all probability, open their mines, gladly embrace a traffic of ſuch mutual convenience to both nations: for then their gold, inſtead of proving an incitement to enſlave them, would procure them weapons to aſſert their liberty, to chaſtiſe their tyrants, and to ſecure themſelves for ever from the Spaniſh yoke; whilſt, with our aſſiſtance, and under our protection, they might become a conſiderable people, and might ſecure to us that wealth which formerly, by the houſe of Auſtria, and lately by the houſe of Bourbon, has been moſt miſchievouſly laviſhed in the purſuit of univerſal monarchy.

It is true, Sir John Narborough did not ſucceed in opening this commerce, which in appearance promiſed ſo many advantages to this nation. However, his diſappointment was merely accidental, and his tranſactions upon that coaſt, (beſides the many valuable improvements he furniſhed to geography and navigation) are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind, than an objection againſt them; his principal misfortune being, the loſing company of a ſmall bark which attended him, and having ſome of his people trepanned at Baldivia. However, it

appeared, by the precaution and fears of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the ſcheme he was ſent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehenſion of its conſequences. It is ſaid, that his Majeſty King Charles II. was ſo far prepoſſeſſed with the belief of the emoluments which might redound to the public from this expedition, and was ſo eager to be informed of the event of it, that having intelligence of Sir John Narborough's paſſing through the Downs on his return, he had not patience to attend his arrival at court, but went himſelf in his barge to Graveſend to meet him.

To facilitate, as much as poſſible, any attempts of this kind, which may be hereafter undertaken, I have given a chart of that part of the world, as far as it is hitherto known, which I flatter myſelf is, in ſome reſpect, much correcter than any which has been yet publiſhed.

CHAP. X.

From Cape Noir to the iſland of Juan Fernandes.

AFTER the mortifying diſappointment of falling in with the coaſt of Terra del Fuego, when we eſteemed ourſelves ten degrees to the weſtward of it, as hath been at large recited in the eighth chapter, we ſtood away to the S. W. till the 22d of April, when we were in upwards of 60 deg. of ſouth latitude, and, by our account, near 6 to the weſtward of Cape Noir. In this run we had a ſeries of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better ſeaſon: ſo that this interval, ſetting the inquietude of our thoughts aſide, was, by

far, the moſt eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits le Maire to the weſt coaſt of America. This moderate weather continued with little variation till the 24th; but on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow freſh, and ſoon increaſed to a prodigious ſtorm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we loſt ſight of the other four ſhips of the ſquadron which, notwithſtanding the violence of the preceding ſtorms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our ſole misfortune; for, the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-ſails, the clew-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the ſheets being half-flown, every ſeam in the top-ſails was ſoon ſplit from top to bottom, and the main top-ſail ſhook ſo ſtrong in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the maſt; however, at length ſome of the moſt daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the ſail away cloſs to the reefs, though with the utmoſt hazard of their lives; whilſt at the ſame time, the fore-top ſail beat about the yard with ſo much fury, that it was ſoon blown to pieces. Nor was our attention to our top-ſails our ſole employment; for the main-ſail blew looſe, which obliged us to lower down the yard to ſecure the ſail; and the fore-yard being likewiſe lowered, we lay-to under a mizen. In this ſtorm, beſides the loſs of our top-ſails, we had much of our rigging broke, and loſt a main-ſtudding-ſail boom out of the chains.

On the 25th about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to ſway up our yards, and to repair, in the beſt manner we could, our ſhattered rigging; but ſtill we had no ſight of the reſt of our ſquadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them till after our arrival at Juan Fernandes: nor did any two of them, as we have ſince learned, continue in company together: this total, and almoſt inſtan-

taneous ſeparation, was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for ſeven weeks through all the reiterated tempeſts of this turbulent climate. It muſt indeed be owned, that we had hence room to expect, that we might make our paſſage in a ſhorter time than if we had continued together, becauſe we could now make the beſt of our way without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ſhips; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we ourſelves were hereby deprived of the aſſiſtance of others and our ſafety would depend on our ſingle ſhip: ſo that if a plank ſtarted, or any other accident of the ſame nature ſhould take place, we muſt all irrecoverably periſh; or ſhould we be driven on ſhore, we had the uncomfortable proſpect of ending our days on ſome deſolate coaſt, without any reaſonable hope of ever getting off again: whereas, with another ſhip in company, all theſe calamities are much leſs formidable, ſince, in every kind of danger, there would be ſome probability that one ſhip at leaſt might eſcape, and might be capable of preſerving or relieving the crew of the others.

The remaining part of this month of April, we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day, ſince the 22d edging to the northward; however, on the laſt day of the month, we flattered ourſelves with the expectation of ſoon terminating all our ſufferings, for we that day found ourſelves in the latitude of 52: 13, which, being to the northward of the Straits of Magellan we were aſſured that we had completed our paſſage and had arrived in the confines of the ſouthern ocean; and this ocean being denominated the Pacific, from the equability of the ſeaſons which are ſaid to prevail there, and the facility and ſecurity with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we ſhould be ſpeedily cheared with the moderate gales, the ſmooth water, and the temperate air.

for which that track of the globe has been ſo renowned. And, under the influence of theſe pleaſing circumſtances, we hoped to experience ſome kind of compenſation for the complicated miſeries which had ſo conſtantly attended us for the laſt eight weeks. But here we were again diſappointed; for, in the ſucceeding month of May our ſufferings roſe to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we conſider the violence of the ſtorms, the ſhattering of our ſails and rigging, or the diminiſhing and weakening of our crew by deaths and ſickneſs, and the probable proſpect of our total deſtruction. All this will be ſufficiently evident, from the following circumſtantial account of our diverſified misfortunes.

Soon after our paſſing Straits Le Maire, the ſcurvy began to make its appearance amongſt us; and our long continuance at ſea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various diſappointments we met with, had occaſioned its ſpreading to ſuch a degree, that, at the latter end of April, there were but few on board who were not in ſome degree afflicted with it; and, in that mouth, no leſs than forty-three died of it on board the Centurion. But though we thought that the diſtemper had riſen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope that as we advanced to the northward its malignity would abate, yet we found, on the contrary, that, in the month of May, we loſt near double that number: and as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increaſing, and the diſeaſe extended itſelf ſo prodigiouſly, that, after the loſs of above two hundred men, we could not at laſt muſter more than ſix foremaſt-men in a watch, capable of duty.

This diſeaſe ſo frequently attending long voyages, and ſo particularly deſtructive to us, is ſurely the moſt ſingular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body. Its ſymptoms are inconſtant and

innumerable, and its progreſs and effects extremely irregular; ſo ſcarcely any two perſons have complaints exactly reſembling each other; and where there have been found ſome comformity in the ſymptoms the order of their appearance has been totally different. However, though it frequently puts on the form of many other diſeaſes, and is therefore not to be deſcribed by any excluſive and infallible criterion: yet there are ſome ſymptoms which are more general than the reſt, and occuring the oftenеſt, deſerve a more particular enumeration. Theſe common appearances are large diſcoloured ſpots diſperſed over the whole ſurface of the body, ſwelled legs, putrid gums, and, above all, an extraordinary laſſitude of the whole body, eſpecially after any exerciſe, however inconſiderable; and this laſſitude, at laſt, degenerates into a proneneſs to ſwoon, and even to die, on the leaſt exertion of ſtrength, or even on the leaſt motion.

This diſeaſe is likewiſe uſually attended with a ſtrange dejection of the ſpirits, and with ſhiverings, tremblings, and a diſpoſition to be ſeized with the moſt dreadful terrors on the ſlighteſt accident. Indeed it was moſt remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever diſcouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the diſtemper; for it uſually killed thoſe who were in the laſt ſtages of it, and confined thoſe in their hammocks who were before capable of ſome kind of duty; ſo that it ſeemed as if alacrity of mind, and ſanguine thoughts, were no contemptible preſervatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not eaſy to complete the long roll of the various concomitants of this diſeaſe; for it often produced putrid fevers, pleuriſies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains, and ſometimes it occaſioned

an obſtinate coſtiveneſs, which was generally attended with difficulty of breathing: and this was eſteemed the moſt deadly of all the ſcorbutic ſymptoms. At other times the whole body, but more eſpecially the legs, were ſubject to ulcers of the worſt kind, attended with rotten bones, and ſuch a luxuriancy of fungous fleſh, as yielded to no remedy. But a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, and what would be ſcarcely credible upon any ſingle evidence, is, that the ſcars of wounds which had been for many years healed, were forced open again by this virulent diſtemper. Of this there was a remarkable inſtance in one of the invalids on board the Centurion, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; for though he was cured ſoon after, and had continued well for a great number of years paſt, yet on his being attacked by the ſcurvy, his wounds, in the progreſs of his diſeaſe, broke out afreſh, and appeared as if they had never been healed; nay, what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, was found to be hereby diſſolved, and the fracture ſeemed as if it had never been conſolidated. Indeed the effects of this diſeaſe were, in almoſt every inſtance, wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconſiderable ſhare of health; for they ate and drank heartily, were chearful, and talked with much ſeeming vigour, and with a loud, ſtrong tone of voice; and yet, on their being the leaſt moved, though it was only from one part of the ſhip to the other, and that too in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their ſeeming ſtrength, and have reſolved to get out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck: nor was it an uncommon thing for thoſe who were able to walk

the deck, and to do ſome kind of duty, to drop down dead in an inſtant, on any endeavours to act with their utmoſt effort, many of our people having periſhed in this manner during the courſe of this voyage.

With this terrible diſeaſe we ſtruggled the greateſt part of the time of our bearing round Cape Horn; and though it did not then rage with its utmoſt violence, yet we buried no leſs than forty-three men on board the Centurion in the month of April, as has been already obſerved: however, we ſtill entertained hopes, that when we ſhould have once ſecured our paſſage round the Cape, we ſhould put a period to this, and all the other evils which had ſo conſtantly purſued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the Pacific ocean was to us leſs hoſpitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Feugo and Cape Horn: For being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the iſland of Socora, which was the firſt rendezvous appointed for the ſquadron, and where we hoped to have met with ſome of our companions, we cruiſed for them in that ſtation ſeveral days: But here we were not only diſappointed in our expectations of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy ſuggeſtions of their having all periſhed; but we were likewiſe perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on ſhore upon this coaſt, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the leaſt proſpect that, in ſuch a caſe, any of us could poſſibly eſcape immediate deſtruction. For the land had indeed a moſt tremendous aſpect; the moſt diſtant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains uſually called the Andes or Cordilleras, was extremely high and covered with ſnow, and the coaſt itſelf ſeemed quite rocky and barren, and the water's edge ſkirted with precipices. In ſome places, in-

deed, we diſcerned ſeveral deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them was generally blocked up by numbers of little iſlands; and though it was not improbable but there might be convenient ſhelter in ſome of theſe bays, and proper channels leading thereto, yet as we were utterly ignorant of the coaſt, had we been driven aſhore by the weſtern winds, which blew almoſt conſtantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loſs of our ſhip, and of our lives.

This continued peril, which laſted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ſhip; as the ſcurvy had by this time deſtroyed ſo great a part of our hands, and had, in ſome degree, affected almoſt the whole crew. Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds leſs violent as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious ſqualls which ſplit our ſails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our maſts. Indeed during the greateſt part of the time we were upon this coaſt, the wind blew ſo hard, that in another ſituation where we had ſufficient ſea-room, we ſhould certainly have lain-to; but in the preſent exigency we were neceſſitated to carry both our courſes and top-ſails, in order to keep clear of this lee ſhore. In one of theſe ſqualls, which was attended by ſeveral violent claps of thunder, a ſudden flaſh of fire darted along our decks, which dividing, exploded with a report like that of ſeveral piſtols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it paſſed, marking them in different parts of the body; this flame was attended with a ſtrong ſulphureous ſtench, and was doubtleſs of the ſame nature, with the large and more violent blaſts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endleſs to recite minutely the various diſaſters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered

on this coaſt; all theſe went on increaſing till the 22d of May, at which time the fury of all the ſtorms which we had hitherto encountered ſeemed to be combined, and to have conſpired our deſtruction. In this hurricane, almoſt all our ſails were ſplit, and great part of our ſtanding rigging broken; and about eight in the evening a mountainous over-grown ſea took us upon our ſtarboard-quarter, and gave us ſo prodigious a ſhock, that ſeveral of our ſhrouds broke with the jerk, by which our maſts were greatly endangered; our ballaſt and ſtores too were ſo ſtrangely ſhifted, that the ſhip heeled afterwards two ſtreaks to port. Indeed it was a moſt tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation from the apprehenſion of inſtantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet as we had no more ſails left in a condition to bend to our yards, and the ſhip laboured very much in a hollow ſea, rolling gunwale-to, for want of ſail to ſteady her; ſo that we expected our maſts, which were now very ſlenderly ſupported, to come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourſelves the beſt we could to ſtirrup our ſhrouds, to reeve new lanyards, and to mend our ſails; but while theſe neceſſary operations were carrying on, we ran great riſk of being driven on ſhore on the iſland of Chiloe, which was not far diſtant from us; but, in the midſt of our peril, the wind happily ſhifted to the ſouthward, and we ſteered off the land with the main ſail only, the maſter and myſelf undertaking the management of the helm, while every one elſe on board was buſied in ſecuring the maſts, and bending the ſails as faſt as they could be repaired. This was the laſt effort of that ſtormy climate; for, in a day or two after, we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced ſince our paſſing Straits le Maire. And now having cruiſ-

ed in vain for more than a fortnight in queſt of the other ſhips of the ſquadron, it was reſolved to take the advantage of the preſent favourable ſeaſon, and the offing we had made from this terrible coaſt, and to make the beſt of our way for the iſland of Juan Fernandes. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia; yet as we had hitherto ſeen none of our companions at this firſt rendezvous, it was not to be ſuppoſed that any of them would be found at the ſecond: indeed we had the greateſt reaſon to ſuſpect that all but ourſelves had periſhed. Beſides, we were by this time reduced to ſo low a condition, that inſtead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmoſt hopes could only ſuggeſt to us the poſſibility of ſaving the ſhip, and ſome part of the remaining enfeebled crew, by our ſpeedy arrival at Juan Fernandes; for this was the only road in that part of the world, where there was any probability of the recovering our ſick, or refitting our veſſel; and conſequently, our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid periſhing at ſea.

Our deplorable ſituation then allowing no room for deliberation, we ſtood for the iſland of Juan Fernandes; and to ſave time, which was now extremely precious, (our men dying four, five, ſix, in a day) and likewiſe to avoid being engaged again with a lee-ſhore, we reſolved, if poſſible, to hit the iſland upon a meridian. And on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of ſeeing it, but not finding it in the poſition in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had gone too far to the weſtward; and therefore, though the Commodore himſelf was ſtrongly perſuaded that he ſaw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion, the hazineſs of the weather gave ſome kind of countenance, it was

on a conſultation, reſolved to ſtand to the eaſtward in the parallel of the iſland; as it was certain that by this courſe we ſhould either fall in with the iſland, if we were already to the weſtward of it, or ſhould at leaſt make the main-land of Chili, from whence we might take a new departure, and aſſure ourſelves, by running to the weſtward afterwards, of not miſſing the iſland a ſecond time.

On the 30th of May, we had a view of the continent of Chili, diſtant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white, what we ſaw being doubtleſs a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with ſnow. Though by this view of the land we aſcertained our poſition, yet it gave us great uneaſineſs to find, that we had ſo needleſsly altered our courſe, when we were in all probability juſt upon the point of making the iſland; for the mortality among us was now increaſed to a moſt dreadful degree, and thoſe who remained alive were utterly diſpirited by this new diſappointment, and the proſpect of their longer continuance at ſea; our water too began to grow ſcarce, ſo that a general dejection prevailed amongſt us, which added much to the virulence of the diſeaſe, and deſtroyed numbers of our beſt men; and to all theſe calamities there was added this vexatious circumſtance, that when, after having got a ſight of the main, we tacked, and ſtood to the weſtward in queſt of the iſland, we were ſo much delayed by calms and contrary winds, that it coſt us nine days to regain the weſting, which when we ſtood to the eaſtward, we ran down in two. In this deſponding condition, with a crazy ſhip, a great ſcarcity of freſh water, and a crew ſo univerſally diſeaſed, that there were not above ten foremaſt-men in a watch, capable of doing duty, and even ſome of theſe lame and unable to go aloft; under theſe diſ-

heartening circumſtances we ſtood to the weſtward; and on the 9th of June, at day-break, we at laſt diſcovered the long wiſhed-for iſland of Juan Fernandes. With this diſcovery I ſhall cloſe this chapter, and the firſt book, after obſerving, (which will furniſh a very ſtrong image of our unparalelled diſtreſſes), that, by our ſuſpecting ourſelves to be to the weſtward of the iſland on the 28th of May, and in conſequence of this, ſtanding in on the main, we loſt between ſeventy and eighty of our men, whom we ſhould doubtleſs have ſaved, had we made the iſland that day, which, had we kept on our courſe, for a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done.

END OF BOOK FIRST.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The arrival of the Centurion at the iſland of Juan Fernandes, with a deſcription of that iſland.

ON the 9th of June, at day-break, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, we firſt deſcried the iſland of Juan Fernandes, bearing N. by E. at eleven or twelve leagues diſtance. And though on this firſt view, it appeared to be a very mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular; yet as it was land, and the land we ſought for, it was to us a moſt agreeable ſight; becauſe, at this place only, we could help to put a period to thoſe terrible calamities we had ſo long ſtruggled with, which had already ſwept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at ſea, would inevitably have completed our deſtruction. For we were by this time reduced to ſo helpleſs a condition, that, out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muſter hands enough to work the ſhip on an emergency, though we included the officers, their ſervants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we firſt made the iſland, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ſhip in the middle watch, we had a melancholy inſtance of the almoſt incredible debility of our peo-

ple; for the lieutenant could muſter no more than two quarter-maſters, and ſix foremaſt-men capable of working; ſo that, without the aſſiſtance of the officers, ſervants, and the boys, it might have proved impoſſible for us to have reached the iſland, after we had got ſight of it: and even with this aſſiſtance they were two hours in trimming the ſails; to ſo wretched a condition was a ſixty gun ſhip reduced, which had paſſed Straits Le Maire but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almoſt all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th, in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the iſland, and kept ranging along it at about two miles diſtance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was deſcribed to be in a bay on the north ſide. Being now nearer in with the ſhore, we could diſcover, that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared ſo unpromiſing at a diſtance, were far from barren, being in moſt places covered with woods, and that between them there were every where interſperſed the fineſt valleys, clothed with a moſt beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous ſtreams and caſcades, no valley of any extent being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever taſted, and was conſtantly clear. The aſpect of this country thus diverſified, would at all times have been extremely delightful; but in our diſtreſſed ſituation, languiſhing as we were for the land, and its vegetable productions, (an inclination conſtantly attending every ſtage of the ſea-ſcurvy) it is ſcarcely credible with what eagerneſs and tranſport we viewed the ſhore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreſhments which were then in ſight, and particularly the water; for of this we had been confined to a very ſparing allowance a conſide-

rable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Thoſe only who have endured a long ſeries of thirſt, and who can readily recall the deſire and agitation which the idea alone of ſprings and brooks have at that time raiſed in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large caſcade of the moſt tranſparent water, which poured itſelf from a rock near a hundred feet high into the ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhip. Even thoſe amongſt the diſeaſed, who were not in the very laſt ſtages of the diſtemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks; exerted the ſmall remains of ſtrength that were left them, and crawled up to the deck to feaſt themſelves with this reviving proſpect. Thus we coaſted the ſhore, fully employed in the contemplation of this enchanting landſcape, which ſtill improved upon us the farther we advanced. But at laſt the night cloſed upon us before we had ſatisfied ourſelves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we reſolved to keep in ſoundings all night, (we having then from ſixty-four to ſeventy fathom) and to ſend our boat next morning to diſcover the road; however, the current ſhifted in the night, and ſet us ſo near the land, that we were obliged to let go the beſt bower in fifty-ſix fathom, not half a mile from the ſhore; at four in the morning the cutter was diſpatched with our third lieutenant, to find out the bay we were in ſearch of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with ſeals and graſs; for though the iſland abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's crew, in their ſhort ſtay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even graſs would prove a dainty, as indeed it was all ſoon and eagerly devoured. The ſeals too were conſidered as freſh proviſion, but as yet were not much admired though they grew afterwards into more repute: for what rendered them leſs valuable,

at this juncture was the prodigious quantity of excellent fiſh, which the people on board had taken during the abſence of the boat.

The cutter in this expedition, had diſcovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the weſtward of our preſent ſtation; and the next morning the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh in order to proceed thither; but though on this occaſion we muſtered all the ſtrength we could, obliging even the ſick, who were ſcarce able to keep on their legs, to aſſiſt us; yet the capſtan was ſo weakly manned that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down, after which with our utmoſt efforts, and with many ſurges and ſome purchaſes we made uſe of to increaſe our power, we found ourſelves incapable of ſtarting the anchor from the ground. However at noon, as a freſh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to ſet the ſails which fortunately tripped the anchor; and then we ſteered along the ſhore, till we came abreaſt of the point that forms the eaſtern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind that had befriended us thus far, ſhifted, and blew from thence in ſqualls; but by means of the head-way we had got, we loofed cloſe in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-ſix fathom. Soon after we had thus got our new birth, we diſcovered a ſail, which we made no doubt was one of our ſquadron; and on its nearer approach, we found it to be the Tryal ſloop. We immediately ſent out ſome of our hands on board her, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We ſoon found that the ſloop had not been exempted from the ſame calamities which we had ſo ſeverely felt; for her commander, Captain Saunders, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that out of his ſmall complement, he had buried thirty-four of his

men, and thoſe that remained were ſo univerſally afflicted with the ſcurvy, that only himſelf, his lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to ſtand by the ſails. The Tryal came to an anchor within us on the 12th about noon, and we carried our hawſers on board her, in order to moor ourſelves nearer on ſhore; but the wind coming off the land in violent guſts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended. Indeed, our principal attention was employed in buſineſs rather of more importance: for we were now entirely occupied in ſending on ſhore materials to raiſe tents for the reception of the ſick, who died apace aboard; and doubtleſs the diſtemper was conſiderably augmented by the ſtench and filthineſs in which they lay; for the number of the diſeaſed was ſo great, and ſo few could be ſpared, from the neceſſary duty of the ſails, to look after them, that it was impoſſible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanlineſs, which had rendered the ſhip extremely loathſome between decks. Notwithſtanding our deſire of freeing the ſick from their hateful ſituation, and their own extreme impatience to get on ſhore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we ſent them all on ſhore, amounting to a hundred and ſixty-ſeven perſons, beſides twelve or fourteen that died in the boats, on their being expoſed to the freſh air. The greateſt part of our ſick were ſo infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ſhips in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the ſame manner, from the water-ſide to their tents, over a ſtony beach. This was a work of conſiderable fatigue to the few who were healthy; and therefore the Commodore, according to his accuſtomed humanity, not only aſſiſted with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without diſtinction, to give their help-

ing hand. The extreme weakneſs of our ſick, may, in ſome meaſure, be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on ſhore: for it had generally been found, that the land, and the refreſhments it produces, very ſoon recover moſt ſtages of the ſea ſcurvy; and we flattered ourſelves that thoſe who had not periſhed on this firſt expoſure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been ſpeedily reſtored to their health and vigour; yet, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably ceaſed, and for the firſt ten or twelve days, we buried rarely leſs than ſix each day, and many of thoſe who ſurvived, recovered by very ſlow and inſenſible degrees. Indeed thoſe who were well enough at their firſt getting on ſhore, to creep out of their tents, and crawl about, were ſoon relieved, and recovered their health and ſtrength in a very ſhort time; but in the reſt the diſeaſe had acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

Having proceeded thus far, and got our ſick on ſhore, I think it neceſſary, before I enter into any longer detail of our tranſactions, to give a diſtinct account of this iſland of Juan Fernandes, its ſituation, productions, and all its conveniencies. Theſe particulars we were well enabled to be minutely inſtructed in, during our three months ſtay there: and as it is the only commodious place in thoſe ſeas where Britiſh cruizers can refreſh and recover their men, after their paſſage round Cape Horn, and where they may remain for ſome time, without alarming the Spaniſh coaſt; theſe its advantages will merit a circumſtantial deſcription. Indeed Mr Anſon was particularly induſtrious in directing the roads and coaſts to be ſurveyed, and other obſervations to be made, knowing, from his own experience, of

how great conſequence theſe materials might prove to any Britiſh veſſels hereafter employed in thoſe ſeas. For the uncertainty we were in of its poſition, and our ſtanding in for the main on the 28th of May, in order to ſecure a ſufficient eaſting, when we were indeed extremely near it, coſt us the lives of between ſeventy and eighty of our men, by our longer continuance at ſea; from which fatal accident we might have been exempted, had we been furniſhed with ſuch an account of its ſituation as we could have depended on.

The iſland of Juan Fernandes lies in the latitude of 33 : 40 ſouth, and is a hundred and ten leagues diſtant from the continent of Chili. It is ſaid to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it, and reſided there ſome time, with a view of ſettling on it, but afterwards abandoned it. Its greateſt extent is between four and five leagues, and its greateſt breadth ſomewhat ſhort of two leagues. The only ſafe anchoring at this iſland is on the north ſide, where are three bays; but the middlemoſt, known by the name of Cumberland-bay, is the wideſt and deepeſt, and in all reſpects much the beſt; for the other two, denominated the eaſt and weſt bays, are ſcarcely more than good landing places, where boats may conveniently put their caſks on ſhore. Cumberland-bay is well ſecured to the ſouthward, and it is only expoſed from the N. by W. to the E. by S.; and as the northerly winds ſeldom blow in that climate, and never with any violence, the danger from that quarter is not worth attending to.

As the bay laſt deſcribed, or Cumberland-bay, is by far the moſt commodious road in the iſland, ſo it is adviſeable for all ſhips to anchor on the weſtern ſide of this bay, within little more than two cables length of the beach; here they may ride in forty fathom of water, and be, in a great meaſure, ſheltered

from a great heavy ſea, whenever an eaſtern or a weſtern wind blows. It is however expedient, in this caſe, to cakle or arm the cables with an iron chain, or good rounding, for five or ſix fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the foulneſs of the ground.

I have obſerved before, that a northerly wind, to which this bay is expoſed, very rarely blew during our ſtay here; and as it was then winter, it may be ſuppoſed in other ſeaſons to be more frequent. Indeed, in thoſe few inſtances, when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force: but this perhaps might be owing to the high lands on the ſouthward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reaſon to ſuppoſe that a few leagues off it blew with a conſiderable ſtrength, ſince it ſometimes drove before it a prodigious ſea, which we rode fore-caſtle in. But though the northern winds are never to be apprehended, yet the ſouthern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent guſts and ſquails, which, however, rarely laſt longer than two or three minutes. This ſeems to be owing to the obſtruction of the ſouthern gale, by the hills in the neighbourhood of the bay; for the wind being collected by this means, at laſt forces its paſſage through the narrow valleys, which like ſo many funnels, both facilitate its eſcape, and increaſe its violence. Theſe frequent and ſudden guſts make it difficult for ſhips to work in with the wind off ſhore, or to keep a clear hawſe when anchored.

The northern part of this iſland is compoſed of high craggy hills, many of them inacceſſible, though generally covered with trees. The ſoil of this part is looſe and ſhallow, ſo that very large trees on the hills ſoon periſh for want of root, and are then eaſily overturned; which occaſioned the unfotunate death of

one of our ſailors, who being upon the hills in ſearch of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to aſſiſt him in his aſcent, and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill; and though in his fall he faſtened on another tree of conſiderable bulk, yet that too gave way, and he fell amongſt the rocks, and was daſhed to pieces. Mr Brett likewiſe met with an accident, only by reſting his back againſt a tree, near as large about as himſelf, which ſtood on a ſlope; for the tree giving way, he fell to a conſiderable diſtance, though without receiving any injury. Our priſoners (whom, as will be related in the ſequel, we afterwards brought in here) remarked, that the appearance of the hills, in ſome part of the iſland, reſembled thoſe of the mountains of Chili, where the gold is found: ſo that it is not impoſſible but mines might be diſcovered here. We obſerved, in ſome places, ſeveral hills of a peculiar ſort of red earth, exceeding vermilion in colour, which perhaps, on examination, might prove uſeful for many purpoſes. The ſouthern, or rather the S. W. part of the iſland, is widely different from the reſt, being dry, ſtony, and deſtitute of trees, and very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the iſland is never frequented by ſhips, being ſurrounded by a ſteep ſhore, and having little or no freſh water: and beſides, it is expoſed to the ſoutherly wind, which generally blows here the whole year round, and in the winter ſolſtice, very hard.

The trees, of which the woods on the northern ſide of the iſland are compoſed, are moſt of them aromatics, and of many different ſorts. There are none of them of a ſize to yield any conſiderable timber, except the myrtle trees, which are the largeſt on the iſland, and ſupplied us with all the timber we made uſe of; but even theſe would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle tree

is circular, and appears as uniform and regular as if it had been clipped by art; it bears on its bark an excreſcence like moſs, which in taſte and ſmell reſembles garlic, and was uſed by our people inſtead of it. We found here too the pimento tree, and likewiſe the cabbage tree, though in no great plenty. And, beſides a great number of plants of various kinds which we were not botaniſts enough either to deſcribe or attend to, we found here, almoſt all the vegetables which are uſually eſteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of thoſe ſcorbutic diſorders which are contracted by ſalt diet and long voyages: For here we had great quantities of water-creſſes and purſlain, with excellent wild ſorrel, and a vaſt profuſion of turnips and Sicilian radiſhes; theſe two laſt, having ſome reſemblance to each other, were confounded by our people under the general name of turnips. We uſually preferred the tops of the turnips to the roots, which were often ſtringy, though ſome of them were free from that exception, and, remarkably good. Theſe vegetables, with the fiſh and fleſh we got here, and which I ſhall more particularly deſcribe hereafter, were not only extremely grateful to our palates, after the long courſe of ſalt diet which we had been confined to, but were likewiſe of the moſt ſalutary conſequence to our ſick, in recovering and invigorating them, and of no mean ſervice to us who were well, in deſtroying the lurking ſeeds of the ſcurvy, from which perhaps none of us were totally exempt, and in refreſhing and reſtoring us to our wonted ſtrength and activity.

To the vegetables I have already mentioned, of which we made perpetual uſe, I muſt add, that we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover. There were alſo ſome few cabbage-trees upon the iſland, as was obſerved before; but as they generally grew on the precipices, and in dangerous

ſituations, and as it was neceſſary to cut down a large tree for every ſingle cabbage, this was a dainty that we were able but rarely to indulge in.

The excellence of the climate, and the looſeneſs of the ſoil, render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation: for if the ground be any where accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown, with turnips and Sicilian radiſhes. Mr Anſon therefore, having with him garden ſeeds of all kinds, and ſtones of different ſorts of fruits, he, for the better accomodation of his countrymen who ſhould hereafter touch here, ſowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden-plants, and ſet in the woods a great variety of plumb, apricot, and peach-ſtones; and theſe laſt he has been informed, have ſince thriven to a very remarkable degree, for ſome gentlemen, who, in their paſſage from Lima to Old Spain, were taken and brought to England, having procured leave to wait upon Mr Anſon, to thank him for his generoſity and humanity to his priſoners ſome of whom were their relations, they, in caſual diſcourſe with him about his tranſactions in the South Seas, particularly aſked him if he had not planted a great number of fruit-ſtones on the iſland of Juan Fernandes; for they told him their late navigators had diſcovered there numbers of peach trees, and apricot trees, which being fruits before unobſerved in that place, they concluded them to have been produced from kernals ſet by him.

This may in general ſuffice as to the ſoil and vegetable productions of this place; but the face of the country at leaſt of the north part of the iſland, is ſo extremely ſingular, that I connot avoid giving it a particular conſideration. I have already taken notice of the wild unhoſpitable air with which it appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landſcape as we drew nearer, till we were at

laſt captivated by the numerous beauties we diſcovered on the ſhore. And I muſt now add, that we found, during the time of our reſidence there, that the inland parts of the iſland did no ways fall ſhort of the ſanguine prepoſſeſſions which we firſt entertained in their favour: For the woods, which covered moſt of the ſteepeſt hills, were free from all buſhes and underwood, and afforded an eaſy paſſage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the iſland, neceſſarily traced out, by their various combinations, a great number of romantic vallies, moſt of which had a ſtream of the cleareſt water running through them, that tumbled in caſcades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley, by the courſe of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a ſudden ſharp deſcent: ſome particular ſpots ocurred in theſe valleys, where the ſhade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftineſs of the overhanging woods, and the tranſparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring ſtreams, preſented ſcenes of ſuch elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the ſimple productions of unaſſiſted nature may be ſaid to excel all the fictitious deſcriptions of the moſt animated imagination. I ſhall finiſh this article with a ſhort account of that ſpot where the Commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own reſidence, though I deſpair of conveying an adequate idea of its beauty. The piece of ground which he choſe was a ſmall lawn, that lay on a little aſcent, at the diſtance of about half a mile from the ſea. In the front of his tent there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the ſea-ſide, which, ſloping to the water with a gentle deſcent, opened a proſpect of the bay and ſhips at anchor. This lawn was

ſcreened behind by a tall wood of myrtal ſweeping round it, in the form of a theatre, the ſlope, on which the wood ſtood, riſing with a much ſharper aſcent than the lawn itſelf, though not ſo much but that the hills and precipices within land towered up conſiderably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were beſides two ſtreams of chryſtal water which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards diſtance, and were ſhaded by the trees which ſkirted the land on either ſide, and completed the ſymmetry of the whole.

It remains now only that we ſpeak of the animals and proviſions which we met with at this place. Former writers have related, that this iſland abounded with vaſt numbers of goats; and their accounts are not to be queſtioned, this place being the uſual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers who formerly frequented thoſe ſeas. And there are two inſtances, one of a Muſqueto Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk a Scotſman, who were left here by their reſpective ſhips, and lived alone upon this iſland for ſome years, and conſequently were no ſtrangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the laſt, after a ſtay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Ducheſs privateers of Briſtol, as may be ſeen at large in the journal of their voyage. His manner of life, during his ſolitude, was in moſt particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumſtance he relates, which was ſo ſtrangely verified by our own obſervation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, amongſt other things, that as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he ſometimes marked their ears, and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the iſland. Now it happened, that the firſt goat that was killed by our people at their landing had

his ears ſlit; whence we concluded that he had doubtleſs been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a moſt venerable aſpect, dignified with an exceeding majeſtic beard, and with many other ſymptons of antiquity. During our ſtay on the iſland we met with others marked in the ſame manner, all the males being diſtinguiſhed by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteriſtic of extreme age.

But the great numbers of goats, which former writers deſcribe to have been found upon this iſland, are at preſent very much diminiſhed; as the Spaniards being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the proviſions, which goat's fleſh here furniſhed them with, have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpoſe they have put on ſhore great numbers of large dogs, who have increaſed apace, and have deſtroyed all the goats in the acceſſible part of the country; ſo that there now remain only a few amongſt the craggs and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. Theſe are divided into ſeparate herds, of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit diſtinct faſtneſſes, and never mingle with each other; by this means we found it extremely difficult to kill them; and yet we were ſo deſirous of their fleſh, which we all agreed, much reſembled veniſon, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds; and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they ſcarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole iſland. I remember we had once an opportunity of obſerving a remarkable diſpute betwixt a herd of theſe animals, and a number of dogs; for, going in our boat into the eaſtern bay, we perceived ſome dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to diſcover what game they were after, we lay upon our

oars ſome time to view them; and at laſt ſaw them take to a hill, where, looking a little further, we obſerved upon the ridge of it, an herd of goats, which ſeemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path, ſkirted on each ſide by precipices, on which the maſter of the herd poſted himſelf fronting the enemy, the reſt of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was more open: as this ſpot was inacceſſible by any other path, excepting where this champion had placed himſelf, the dogs, though they ran up-hill with great alacrity, yet, when they came within about twenty yards of him, they found they durſt not encounter him, (for he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice) but gave over the chace, and quietly laid themſelves down, panting at a great rate. Theſe dogs, who are maſters of all the acceſſible parts of the iſland, are of various kinds, ſome of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They ſometimes came down to our habitations at night, and ſtole our proviſion; and once or twice they ſet upon ſingle perſons; but, aſſiſtance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any miſchief. As at preſent it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young ſeals; and indeed ſome of our people had the curioſity to kill dogs ſometimes, and dreſs them, and it ſeemed to be agreed that they had a fiſhy taſte.

Goat's fleſh, as I have mentioned, being ſcarce, we rarely being able to kill above one a-day; and our people growing tired of fiſh, (which as I ſhall hereafter obſerve, abound at this place); they at laſt condeſcended to eat ſeals, which by degrees they came to reliſh, and called it lamb. The ſeal, numbers of which haunt this iſland, hath been ſo often mentioned by former writers, that it is unneceſſary to ſay any

thing particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a ſea-lion, that bears ſome reſemblance to a ſeal, though it is much larger: this too we ate under the denomination of beef; and as it is ſo extraordinary an animal, I conceived it well merits a particular deſcription. They are in ſize, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference. They are extremely fat, ſo that, after having cut through the ſkin, which is about an inch in thickneſs, there is at leaſt a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced more than once, that the fat of ſome of the largeſt afforded us a butt of oil. They are likewiſe very full of blood; for if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will inſtantly guſh out as many fountains of blood, ſpouting to a conſiderable diſtance; and to try what quantity of blood they contained, we ſhot one firſt, and then cut its throat, and meaſuring the blood that came from him, we found that, beſides what remained in the veſſels, which to be ſure was conſiderable, we got at leaſt two hogſheads. Their ſkins are covered with ſhort hair, of a light dun colour; but their tails and their fins, which ſerve them for feet on ſhore, are almoſt black: their fins or feet are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them, not reaching to the extremities, and each of theſe fingers is furniſhed with a nail. They have a diſtant reſemblance to an over-grown ſeal, though in ſome particulars there is a manifeſt difference between them, eſpecially in the males: theſe have a large ſnout to trunk, hanging down five or ſix inches below the end of the upper jaw, which the females have not, and this renders the countenance of the male and female eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from each other; and beſides, the males are of a much larger

ſize. Theſe animals divide their time equally between the land and ſea, continuing at ſea all the ſummer, and coming on ſhore at the ſetting in of the winter, where they reſide during that whole ſeaſon. In this interval, they engender and bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth, which they ſuckle with their milk, they being at firſt about the ſize of a full-grown ſeal. During the time theſe ſea-lions continue on ſhore, they feed on the graſs and verdure which grows near the banks of the freſh-water ſtreams; and when not employed in feeding, ſleep in herds in the moſt miry places they can find out. As they ſeem to be of a very lethargic diſpoſition, and are not eaſily awakened, each herd was obſerved to place ſome of their males at a diſtance, in the nature of centinels, who never failed to alarm them, whenever any one attempted to moleſt, or even to approach them; and they were capable of alarming even at a conſiderable diſtance; for the noiſe they make is very loud, and of different kinds, ſometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times ſnorting like horſes in full vigour. They often, eſpecially the males, have furious battles with each other, principally about their females: and we were one day extremely ſurpriſed by the ſight of two animals which at firſt appeared different from all we had ever obſerved; but on a nearer approach, they proved to be two ſea-lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood; and the baſhaw before-mentioned, who generally lay ſurrounded with a ſeraglio of famales, which no other male dared to approach, had not acquired that envied pre-eminence without many bloody conteſts, of which the marks ſtill remained in the numerous ſcars which were viſible in every part of his body. We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we eſteemed exceeding good eat-

ing, and perferable even to thoſe of bullocks. In general there was no difficulty in killing them; for they were incapable either of eſcaping or reſiſting, as their motion is the moſt unwieldy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their ſkins. However, a ſailor one day being careleſsly employed in ſkinning a young ſea-lion, the female from whence he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, ſhe with her teeth, ſcored his ſcull in notches in many places, and thereby wounded him ſo deſperately, that though all poſſible care was taken of him he died in a few days.

Theſe are the principal animals which we found upon the iſland; for we ſaw but few birds, and thoſe chiefly hawks, blackbirds, owls, and humming-birds. We ſaw not the pardella, which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here; but as we often met with their holes, we ſuppoſed that the dogs had deſtroyed them, as they have almoſt done the cats; for theſe were very numerous in Selkirk's time, but we ſaw not above one or two during our whole ſtay. However the rats ſtill keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troubleſome to us, by infeſting our tents nightly.

But that which furniſhed us with the moſt delicious repaſts at this iſland, remains ſtill to be deſcribed; this was the fiſh with which the whole bay was ſtored, and with the greateſt variety: for we found here cod of a prodigious ſize, and by the report of ſome of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fiſhery, not in leſs plenty than is to be met with on that iſland. We caught alſo cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, ſilver-fiſh, congers of a peculiar kind, and, above all, a black fiſh which we moſt eſteemed, called by ſome a chim-

ney-ſweeper, in ſhape reſembling a carp. The beach indeed is every where ſo full of rocks and looſe ſtones, that there is no poſſibility of hauling the ſeine; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleaſed; ſo that a boat with two or three lines, would return loaded with fiſh in about two or three hours time. The only interruption we ever met with aroſe from great quantities of dog-fiſh, and large ſharks, which ſometimes attended our boats, and prevented our ſport. Beſides the fiſh we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to ſize, flavour, and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world; this was ſea cray-fiſh: they generally weighed eight or nine pounds a-piece, were of a moſt excellent taſte, and lay in ſuch abundance near the water's edge, that the boat hooks often ſtruck into them, in putting the boat to and from the ſhore.

Theſe are the moſt material articles relating to the accommodations, ſoil, vegetables, animals, and other productions of the iſland of Juan Fernandes; by which it muſt appear how properly that place was adapted for recovering us from the deplorable ſituation to which our tedious and unfortunate navigation round Cape Horn had reduced us. And having thus given the reader ſome idea of the ſites and circumſtances of this place which was to be our reſidence for three months, I ſhall now proceed, in the next chapter, to relate all that occurred to us in that interval, reſuming my narration from the 18th day of June, being the day on which the Tryal ſloop came again to her moorings, having been driven out to ſea by a ſquall of wind three days before, the day on which we finiſhed the ſending our ſick on ſhore, and about eight days after our firſt anchoring at this iſland.

CHAP. II.

The arrival of the Glouceſter and the Anna pink, at the iſland of Juan Fernandes, and the tranſactions at that place during this interval.

THE arrival of the Tryal ſloop at this iſland, ſo ſoon after we came there ourſelves, gave us great hopes of being ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the ſquadron, and we were, for ſome days, continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in ſight. But near a fortnight being elapſed, without any of them having appeared, we began to deſpair of ever meeting them again, as we knew that, had our ſhip continued ſo much longer at ſea, we ſhould every man of us have periſhed, and the veſſel, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves; and this we had great reaſon to believe was the fate of our conſorts, as each hour added to the probability of theſe deſponding ſuggeſtions.

But, on the 21ſt of June, ſome of our people, from an eminence on ſhore, diſcerned a ſhip to leeward, with her courſes even with the horizon; and they at the ſame time, particularly obſerved, that ſhe had no ſail aboard except her courſes and her main top-ſail. This circumſtance made them conclude that it was one of our ſquadron, which had probably ſuffered in her ſails and rigging as ſeverely as we had done: but they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her; for, after viewing her for a ſhort time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they loſt ſight of her. On this report, and no ſhip appearing for ſome days, we were all under the greateſt concern, ſuſpecting that her people were in

the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, and ſo diminiſhed and weakened by ſickneſs, as not to be able to ply up to windward; ſo that we feared that, after having been in ſight of the iſland, her whole crew would, notwithſtanding, periſh at ſea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we diſcerned a ſail in the north-eaſt quarter, which we conceived to be the very ſame ſhip that had been ſeen before, and our conjecture proved true; and about one o'clock ſhe approached ſo near, that we could diſtinguiſh her to be the Glouceſter. As we had no doubt of her being in great diſtreſs, the Commodore immediately ordered his boat to her aſſiſtance, laden with freſh water, fiſh, and vegetables, which was a very ſeaſonable relief to them; for our apprehenſions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as, perhaps, there never was a crew in a more diſtreſſed ſituation. They had already thrown over-board two-thirds of their complement, and, of thoſe that remained alive, ſcarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and ſervants. They had been a conſiderable time at the ſmall allowance of a pint of freſh water to each man for twenty-four hours; and yet they had ſo little left, that, had it not been for the ſupply we ſent them, they muſt have ſoon died of thirſt. The ſhip plied in within three miles of the bay; but the winds and currents being contrary, ſhe could not reach the road: However ſhe continued in the offing next day; but as ſhe had no chance of coming to an anchor, unleſs the wind and currents ſhifted, the Commodore renewed his aſſiſtance, ſending to her the Tryal's boat, manned with the Centurion's people, and a farther ſupply of water and other refreſhments. Captain Mitchel, the commander of the Glouceſter, was under a neceſſity of detaining both this boat and that ſent the preceding day; for, without the help of their crews, he had no longer ſtrength enough to

navigate the ſhip. In this tantalizing ſituation the Glouceſter continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at ſome times bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July we obſerved her ſtretching away to the eaſtward, at a conſiderable diſtance, which, we ſuppoſed, was with a deſign to get to the ſouthward of the iſland; but as we ſoon loſt ſight of her, and ſhe did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiouſly concerned, knowing that ſhe muſt be again in extreme diſtreſs for want of water. After great impatience about her, we diſcovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eaſtern point of the iſland; but the wind ſtill blowing directly from the bay, preventing her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this Captain Mitchell made ſignals of diſtreſs, and our long-boat was ſent to him with a ſtore of water, and plenty of fiſh, and other refreſhments; the long-boat being not to be ſpared, the cock-ſwain had poſitive orders from the Commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving ſtormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared ſhe was loſt, which would have proved an irretrievable loſs to us all: however, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety, by the joyful ſight of the long-boat's ſails upon the water, on which we ſent the cutter immediately to her aſſiſtance, who towed her along-ſide in a few hours; when we found that the crew of our long-boat had taken in ſix of the Glouceſter's ſick men to bring them on ſhore, two of which had died in the boat. We now learned that the Glouceſter was in a moſt dreadful condition, having ſcarcely a man in health on board, except thoſe they received from us: and numbers of their ſick dying daily, it appeared that, had it not been for the laſt ſupply ſent by our long-

boat both the healthy and diſeaſed muſt have periſhed together for want of water. Theſe calamities were the more terrifying as they appeared to be without remedy; for the Glouceſter had already ſpent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and ſhe was now no farther advanced than at the firſt moment ſhe made the iſland; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever ſucceeding in it by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the ſame day, her ſituation grew more deſperate than ever; for after ſhe had received our laſt ſupply of refreſhments, we again loſt ſight of her; ſo that we, in general, deſpaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy veſſel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilſt the neighbourhood of that place, and of thoſe circumſtances, which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, ſerved only to aggravate their diſtreſs, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But ſhe was at laſt delivered from this dreadful ſituation, at a time when we leaſt expected it; for, after having loſt ſight of her for ſeveral days, we were pleaſingly ſurpriſed, on the morning of the 23d of July, to ſee her open the N. W. point of the bay with a flowing ſail, when we immediately diſpatched what boats we had to her aſſiſtance, and in an hour's time from our firſt perceiving her, ſhe anchored ſafe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the aſſiſtance and refreſhments we ſo often ſent them, and how impoſſible it would have been for a man of them to have ſurvived, had we given leſs attention to their wants: for, notwithſtanding the water, the greens, and freſh proviſions which we ſupplied them with, and the hands we ſent them to navigate the ſhip, by which the fatigue of their

own people was diminiſhed, their ſick relieved, and the mortality abated: notwithſtanding this indulgent care of the Commodore, they yet buried above three fourths of their crew, and a very ſmall proportion of the remainder were capable of aſſiſting in the duty of the ſhip. On their coming to an anchor, our firſt endeavours were to aſſiſt them in mooring, and our next to ſend their ſick on ſhore; theſe were now reduced by deaths, to leſs than fourſcore, of which we expected to loſe the greateſt part: but whether it was, that thoſe fartheſt advanced in the diſtemper were all dead, or that the greens and freſh proviſions we had ſent on board had prepared thoſe which remained for a more ſpeedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectations, that their ſick were in general relieved and reſtored to their ſtrength in a much ſhorter time than our own had been when we firſt came to the iſland, and very few of them died on ſhore.

I have thus given an account of the principal events relating to the arrival of the Glouceſter in one continued narration. I ſhall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ſhips, except our victualler, the Anna pink, who came in about the middle of Auguſt, and whoſe hiſtory I ſhall defer for the preſent, as it is now high time to return to the account of our own tranſactions, on board and on ſhore, during the interval of the Glouceſter's frequent and ineffectual attempts to reach that iſland.

Our next employment after ſending our ſick on ſhore from the Centurion, was cleanſing our ſhip, and filling our water. The firſt of theſe meaſures was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our future health, as the numbers of ſick, and the unavoidable negligence ariſing from our deplorable ſituation at ſea, had rendered the decks moſt intolerably loathſome. And the filling our water was a caution that appeared not

leſs eſſential to our ſecurity, as we had reaſon to apprehend that accidents might intervene, which would oblige us to quit the iſland at a very ſhort warning; for ſome appearances we had diſcovered on ſhore, upon our firſt landing, gave us grounds to believe, that there were Spaniſh cruiſers in theſe ſeas, which had left the iſland but a ſhort time before our arrival, and might poſſibly return thither again, either for a recruit of water, or in ſearch of us; ſince we could not doubt but that the ſole buſineſs they had at ſea was to intercept us, and we knew that this iſland was the likelieſt place, in their own opinion, to meet with us. The circumſtances which gave riſe to theſe reflections (in part of which we were not miſtaken, as ſhall be obſerved more at large hereafter) were our finding on ſhore ſeveral pieces of earthen jars, made uſe of in thoſe ſeas for water and other liquids, which appeared to be freſh broken; we ſaw, too, many heaps of aſhes, and near them fiſh-bones and pieces of fiſh, beſides whole fiſh ſcattered here and there, which plainly appeared to have been but a ſhort time out of the water, as they were but juſt beginning to decay; theſe were certain indications that there had been ſhips at this place but a ſhort time before we came there. And as all Spaniſh merchant-men are inſtructed to avoid the iſland, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded thoſe who had touched here to be ſhips of force; and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what ſtrength might have been fitted out at Calloa, we were under ſome concern for our ſafety, being in ſo wretched and enfeebled a condition, that notwithſtanding the rank of our ſhip, and the ſixty guns ſhe carried on board, which would only have aggravated our diſhonour, there was ſcarcely a privateer ſent to ſea that was not an overmatch for us. However, our fears on this head proved imagi-

nary; and we were not expoſed to the diſgrace which might have been expected to have befallen us, had we been neceſſitated (as we muſt have been, had the enemy appeared) to fight our ſixty-gun ſhip with no more than thirty hands.

Whilſt the cleaning our ſhip, and the filling our water went on, we ſet up a large copper oven on ſhore near the ſick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ſhip's company; for being extremely deſirous of recovering our ſick as ſoon as poſſible, we conceived that new bread, added to their greens and freſh fiſh, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reaſon to endeavour at the augmenting of our preſent ſtrength, as every little accident, which, to a full crew, would be inſignificant, was extremely alarming in our preſent helpleſs ſituation. Of this we had a troubleſome inſtance on the 30th of June; for at five in the morning we were aſtoniſhed by a violent guſt of wind directly off ſhore, which inſtantly parted our ſmall bower-cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor: the ſhip at once ſwung off to the beſt bower which happily ſtood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eight fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen ſeamen in the ſhip; and we were apprehenſive, if the ſquall continued, that we ſhould be driven to ſea in this wretched condition: However, we ſent the boat on ſhore to bring off all who were capable of acting; and the wind ſoon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with a reinforcement. With this additional ſtrength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we ſuſpected had received ſome damage from the foulneſs of the ground, before it parted; and agreeable to our conjecture, we found that ſeven fathom and a half of the outer end had

been rubbed and rendered unſerviceable. In the afternoon we bent the cable to the ſpare anchor, and got it over the ſhip's ſide; and the next morning July 11ſt, being favoured with the wind, in gentle breezes we warped the ſhip in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom water, the eaſtermoſt point now bearing from us S. E. the weſtermoſt N. W. by W. and the bay as before S. S. W.; a ſituation in which we remained ſecure for the future. However, we were much concerned for the loſs of our anchor, and ſwept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered it; but the buoy having ſunk at the very inſtant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now, as it advanced in July, ſome of our men being tolerably recovered, the ſtrongeſt of them were put upon cutting down trees, and ſplitting them into billets; while others who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets, by one at a time, to the water-ſide: this they performed, ſome of them with the help of crutches, and others ſupported by a ſingle ſtick. We next ſent the forge on ſhore, and employed our ſmiths, who were but juſt capable of working, in mending our chain-plates, and our other broken and decayed iron-work. We began too the repairs of our rigging, but as we had not junk enough to make ſpun yarn, we deferred the general over-hale, in hopes of the daily arrival of the Glouceſter, who we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might diſpatch as faſt as poſſible in our refitting, we ſet up a large tent on the beach for the ſail-makers, and they were immediately employed in repairing our old ſails, and making us new ones. Theſe occupations with our cleanſing and watering the ſhip, (which was by this time, pretty well completed) the attendance on our ſick, and the frequent relief ſent to the Glouceſter, were the principal tranſactions of our infirm crew

till the arrival of the Glouceſter at an anchor in the bay. And then Captain Mitchel, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that he had been forced by the winds, in his laſt abſence, as far as the ſmall iſland called Maſa Fuero, lying about twenty-two leagues to the weſtward of Juan Fernandes: and that he endeavoured to ſend his boat on ſhore there for water, of which he could obſerve ſeveral ſtreams; but the wind blew ſo ſtrong upon the ſhore, and occaſioned ſuch a ſurf, that it was impoſſible for the boat to land, though the attempt was not altogether uſeleſs, for his people returned with a boat-load of fiſh. This iſland had been repreſented by former navigators as a barren rock; but Captain Mitchel aſſured the Commodore, that it was almoſt every where covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length; and added, that it appeared to him far from impoſſible, but ſome ſmall bay might be found on it, which might afford ſufficient ſhelter for any ſhip deſirous of refreſhing there.

As four ſhips of our ſquadron were a-miſſing, this deſcription of the iſland of Maſa Fuero gave riſe to a conjecture, that ſome of them might poſſibly have fallen in with that iſland, and might have miſtaken it for the true place of our rendezvous. This ſuſpicion was the more plauſible, as we had no draught of either iſland that could be relied on; and therefore Mr Anſon determined to ſend the Tryal ſloop thither as ſoon as ſhe could be fitted for the ſea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be ſatisfied whether any of our miſſing ſhips were there or not. For this purpoſe, ſome of our beſt hands were ſent on board the Tryal the next morning, to overhaul and fix her rigging; and our long-boat was employed in completing her water; and whatever ſtores and neceſſaries ſhe wanted, were immediately ſupplied either from the Centurion or the

Glouceſter. But it was the 4th of Auguſt before the Tryal was in readineſs to ſail, when, having weighed, it ſoon after fell calm, and the tide ſet her very near the eaſtern ſhore; Captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired ſeveral guns, to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were ſent to his relief, who towed the ſloop into the bay; where ſhe anchored until the next morning, and then weighing again, proceeding on her cruiſe with a fair breeze.

And now, after the Glouceſter's arrival, we were employed in earneſt, in examining and repairing our rigging; but in the ſtripping our fore-maſt, we were alarmed by diſcovering it was ſprung, juſt above the partners of the upper deck. The ſpring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference: however, the carpenters, on inſpecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fiſhing it with two leaves of an anchor-ſtock would render it as ſecure as ever. But, beſides this defect in our maſt, we had other difficulties in refitting, from the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to ſea much greater quantities of both, than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with, had occaſioned ſuch a conſumption of theſe ſtores, that we were driven to great ſtraits: as, after working up all our junk and old ſhrouds, to make twice laid cordage, we were at laſt obliged to unlay a cable, to work into running-rigging: and with all the canvas and remnants of old ſails that could be muſtered, we could only make up one complete ſuit.

Towards the middle of Auguſt, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their ſick-tents, and to build ſeparate huts for themſelves, as it was imagined, that, by living apart, they would be much cleanlier, and conſequently likely to recover their ſtrength the ſooner; but at the ſame time, particular orders were given, that, on the firing

of a gun from the ſhip, they ſhould inſtantly repair to the water-ſide. Their employment on ſhore was now either the procuring of refreſhments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the ſea-lions. This oil ſerved us for ſeveral purpoſes, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ſhip's ſides, or when worked up with wood-aſhes, to ſupply the uſe of tallow, (of which we had none left) to give the ſhip boot-hoſe-tops. Some of the men, too, were occupied in ſalting of cod: for there being two Newfoundland fiſhermen in the Centurion, the Commodore ſet them about laying in a conſiderable quantity of ſalted cod for a ſea-ſtore, though very little of it was uſed, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the ſcurvy, as any other kind of ſalt proviſions.

I have before mentioned, that we had a copper oven on ſhore to bake bread for the ſick; but it happened that the greateſt part of the flour, for the uſe of the ſquadron, was embarked on board our victualler, the Anna pink; and I ſhould have mentioned, that the Tryal ſloop, at her arrival, had informed us, that on the 9th of May, ſhe had fallen in with our victualler not far diſtant from the continent of Chili, and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This afforded us ſome room to hope that ſhe was ſafe, and that ſhe might join us; but all June and July being paſt, without any news of her, we then gave her over for loſt; and, at the end of July, the Commodore ordered all the ſhips to a ſhort allowance of bread. Nor was it in our bread only that we feared a deficiency: for, ſince our arrival at the iſland, we diſcovered that our former purſer had neglected to take on board large quantities of ſeveral kinds of proviſions, which the Commodore had expreſly ordered him to receive: ſo that the ſuppoſed

loſs of our victualler was, on all accounts, a mortifying conſideration. However, on Sunday the 16th of Auguſt, about noon, we eſpied a ſail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the Centurion, to call off the people from ſhore, who readily obeyed the ſummons, repairing to the beach where the boats waited to carry them on board. And, being now prepared for the reception of this ſhip in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various ſpeculations about her; at firſt many imagined it to be the Tryal ſloop returned from her cruiſe, though, as ſhe drew nearer, this opinion was confuted, by obſerving ſhe was a veſſel with three maſts. Then other conjectures were eagerly canvaſſed, ſome judging it to be the Severn, others the Pearl, and ſeveral affirming that it did not belong to our ſquadron. But, about three in the afternoon, our diſputes were now ended, by an unanimous perſuaſion that it was our victualler the Anna pink. This ſhip, though like the Glouceſter, ſhe had fallen in to the northward of the iſland had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the ſincereſt joy: for each ſhip's company was immediately reſtored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehenſions of our proviſions falling ſhort before we could reach ſome amicable port; a calamity which, in theſe ſeas, is, of all others, the moſt irretrievable. This was the laſt ſhip that joined us; and the dangers ſhe encountered, and the good fortune which ſhe afterwards met with, being matters worthy of a ſeparate narration, I ſhall refer them, together with a ſhort account of the other miſſing ſhips of the ſquadron, to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. III.

A ſhort narrative of what befel the Anna pink before ſhe joined us, with an account of the loſs of the Wager, and of the putting back of the Severn and Pearl, the two remaining ſhips of the ſquadron.

ON the firſt appearance of the Anna pink, it ſeemed wonderful to us, how the crew of a veſſel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, ſhould be capable of working their ſhip in the manner they did, with ſo little appearance of debility and diſtreſs: but this difficulty was ſoon ſolved, when ſhe came to an anchor; for we then found that they had been in harbour ſince the middle of May, which was near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandes. So that their ſufferings (the riſk they had run of ſhipwreck only excepted) were greatly ſhort of what had been undergone by the reſt of the ſquadron. It ſeems, on the 16th of May, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues diſtant, in the latitude of 45: 15 ſouth. On the firſt ſight of it they wore ſhip, and ſtood to the ſouthward; but their fore top-ſail ſpliting, and the wind being W. S. W. they drove towards the ſhore; and the captain at laſt, either unable to clear the land, or, as others ſay, reſolved to keep the ſea no longer, ſteered for the coaſt, with a view of diſcovering ſome ſhelter amongſt the many iſlands which then appeared in ſight; and about four hours after the firſt view of land, the pink had the good fortune to come to an anchor, to the eaſtward of the iſland of Inchin; but as they did not run ſufficiently near to the eaſt ſhore of that iſland, and had not hands enough to veer away the cable briſkly, they were ſoon driven to the

eaſtward, deepening their water from twenty-five fathom to thirty-five; and, ſtill continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of May, let go their ſheet anchor. This, though it brought them up for a ſhort time, yet on the 18th, they drove again, till they came into ſixty-five fathom water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on ſhore every moment in a place where the coaſt was ſo very high, and ſteep too, that there was not the leaſt proſpect of ſaving the ſhip or cargo: as their boats were very leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew, conſiſting of ſixteen men and boys, gave themſelves over for loſt, apprehending that if any of them, by ſome extraordinary chance, ſhould get on ſhore, they would, in all probability, be maſſacred by the ſavages on the coaſt; for theſe knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all ſtrangers with the ſame cruelty which they had ſo often, and ſo ſignally, exerted againſt their Spaniſh neighbours. Under theſe terrifying circumſtances the pink drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the ſhore; but, at laſt, when the crew expected each inſtant to ſtrike, they perceived a ſmall opening in the land, which raiſed their hopes; and, immediately cutting away their two anchors, they ſteered for it, and found it to be a ſmall channel betwixt an iſland and the main, that led them into a moſt excellent harbour, which for its ſecurity againſt all winds and ſwells, and the ſmoothneſs of its water may, perhaps, compare with any in the known world. And this place being ſcarcely two miles diſtant from the ſpot where they deemed their deſtruction inevitable, the horrors of ſhipwreck, and of immediate death, which had ſo long and ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed them, vaniſhed

almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of ſecurity, refreſhment, and repoſe.

In this harbour, diſcovered in this miraculous manner, the pink came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, with only a hawſer and a ſmall anchor of about three hundred weight. Here ſhe continued for near two months; and here her people, who were many of them ill of the ſcurvy, were ſoon reſtored to perfect health by the freſh proviſions, of which they procured good ſtore, and the excellent water with which the adjacent ſhore abounded. As this place may prove of the greateſt importance to future navigators, who may be forced upon this coaſt by the weſterly winds, which are almoſt perpetual in that part of the world, I ſhall, before I enter into any farther particulars of the adventures of the pink, give the beſt account I could collect of this port, its ſituation, conveniencies, and productions.

To facilitate the knowledge of this place to thoſe who may hereafter be deſirous of making uſe of it, I ſhall give a ſhort account of it. Its latitude, which is indeed a material point, is not well aſcertained, the pink having no obſervation either the day before ſhe came there, or within a day of her leaving it: but it is ſuppoſed that it is not very diſtant from 45: 30 ſouth, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour renders this uncertainty of leſs moment. The iſland of Inchin, lying before the bay, is thought to be one of the iſlands of Chonos, which are mentioned in the Spaniſh accounts as ſpreading all along that coaſt; and are ſaid, by them, to be inhabited by a barbarous people famous for their hatred of the Spaniards, and for their cruelties to ſuch of that nation as have fallen into their hands. And it is poſſible too that the land, on which the harbour itſelf lies, may be another of thoſe iſlands, and that the

continent may be conſiderably farther to the eaſtward. There are two coves in it where ſhips may conveniently heave down, the water being conſtantly ſmooth: and there are ſeveral fine runs of excellent freſh water which fall into the harbour, ſome of them ſo luckily ſituated, that the caſks may be filled in the long-boat with an hoſe. The moſt remarkable of theſe is a freſh water river, where the pink's people got ſome few mullets of an excellent flavour; and they were perſuaded that in a proper ſeaſon (it being winter when they were there) it abounded with fiſh, the principal refreſhments they met with in this port were greens, as wild cellery, nettle-tops, &c. (which, after ſo long a continuance at ſea, they devoured with great eagerneſs) ſhell-fiſh, as cockles and muſcles of an extraordinary ſize, and extremely delicious; and good ſtore of geeſe, ſhags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous, nor the trees and the face of the country deſtitute of verdure; whence in the ſummer many other ſpecies of freſh proviſions, beſides theſe here enumerated, might doubtleſs be found there. Notwithſtanding the tales of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, in relation to the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it doth not appear that their numbers are ſufficient to give the leaſt jealouſy to any ſhip of ordinary force, or that their diſpoſition is by any means ſo miſchievous or mercileſs as has hitherto been repreſented. With all theſe advantages, this place is ſo far removed from the Spaniſh frontier, and ſo little known to the Spaniards themſelves, that there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that, by proper precautions, a ſhip might continue here undiſcovered a long time. It is moreover a poſt of great defence; for by poſſeſſing the iſland that cloſes up the harbour, and which is acceſſible in very few places, a ſmall force might ſecure this port againſt all the ſtrength the Spaniards

could muſter in that part of the world; ſince this iſland, towards the harbour, is ſteep, and has ſix fathom water cloſe to the ſhore, ſo that the pink anchored within forty yards of it. Whence it is obvious how impoſſible it would prove, either to board or cut out any veſſel protected by a force poſted on ſhore within piſtol-ſhot, and where thoſe who were thus poſted could not themſelves be attacked. All theſe circumſtances ſeems to render this port worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped, that the important uſes which this rude account of it ſeems to ſuggeſt, may hereafter recommend it to the conſideration of the public, and to the attention of thoſe who are more immediately intruſted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

After this deſcription of the place, where the pink lay for two months, it may be expected that I ſhould relate the diſcoveries made by the crew on the adjacent coaſt, and the principal incidents during their ſtay there: but here I muſt obſerve, that, being only a few in number they did not dare to detach any of their people on diſtant ſearches; for they were perpetually terrified with the apprehenſions that they ſhould be attacked either by the Spaniards or the Indians; ſo that their excurſions were generally confined to that track of land which ſurrounded the port, and where they were never out of view of the ſhip; though they had at firſt known how little foundation there was for theſe fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was ſo overgrown with wood, and traverſed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it; whence no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to diſprove the relation given by Spaniſh writers, who have repreſented this coaſt as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people; for they were certain that no ſuch inhabitants were there to be

found, at leaſt during the winter-ſeaſon; ſince all the time they continued there, they ſaw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a periagua, about a month after the arrival of the pink, and conſiſted of an Indian near forty years old, his wife, and two children, one three years of age, and the other ſtill at the breaſt. They ſeemed to have with them all their property which was a dog and a cat, a fiſhing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, ſome bark of trees intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, ſome worſted, a flint and ſteel, and a few roots of a yellow hue, and a very diſagreeable taſte, which ſerved them for bread. The maſter of the pink, as ſoon as he perceived them, ſent his yawl, who brought them on board; and fearing leſt they might diſcover him, if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for ſecuring them, but without any mixture of ill-uſage or violence: for in the day-time they were permitted to go where they pleaſed about the ſhip, but at night were locked up in the forecaſtle. As they were fed in the ſame manner with the reſt of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they ſeemed greatly to reliſh, it did not at firſt appear that they were much diſſatisfied with their ſituation, eſpecially as the maſter took the Indian on ſhore when he went a-ſhooting (who always ſeemed extremely delighted when the maſter killed his game) and all the crew treated them with great humanity: but it was ſoon perceived, that though the woman continued eaſy and chearful, yet the man grew penſive and reſtleſs at his confinement. He ſeemed to be a perſon of good natural parts; and though not capable of converſing with the pink's people, otherwiſe than by ſigns, was yet very curious and inquiſitive, and ſhewed great dexterity in the manner of making himſelf underſtood. In particular, ſeeing ſo few people on board ſuch a large ſhip,

he let them know, that he ſuppoſed they were once more numerous: and to repreſent to them what he imagined was become of their companions, he laid himſelf down on the deck, cloſing his eyes, and ſtretching himſelf out motionleſs, to imitate the appearance of a dead body. But the ſtrongeſt proof of his ſagacity was the manner of his getting away: for after being in cuſtody on board the Pink eight days the ſcuttle of the forecaſtle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be un-nailed, and the following night being extremely dark and ſtormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the un-nailed ſcuttle, and then over the ſhip's ſide into the yawl; and to prevent being purſued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing aſtern, and immediately rowed aſhore. All this he conducted with ſo much diligence and ſecrecy, that, though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, yet he was not diſcovered by them, till the noiſe of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ſhip, gave them notice of his eſcape; and then it was too late either to prevent him or to purſue him; for their boats being all a-drift, it was a conſiderable time before they could contrive the means of getting on ſhore themſelves to ſearch for their boats. The Indian too, by this effort, beſides the recovery of his liberty, was in ſome ſort revenged on thoſe who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loſs of their boats, and by the terror he threw them in at his departure; for on the firſt alarm of the watch, who cried out, *The Indians*, the whole ſhip was in the utmoſt confuſion, believing themſelves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas.

The reſolution and ſagacity with which the Indian behaved upon this occaſion, had it been exerted on a more extenſive object than the retrieving the freedom

of a ſingle family, might perhaps have immortalized the exploit, and have given him a rank amongſt the illuſtrious names of antiquity. Indeed his late maſters did ſo much juſtice to his merit, as to own that it was a moſt gallant enterpriſe, and that they were grieved that they had ever been neceſſitated, by their attention to their own ſafety, as to abridge the liberty of a perſon, of whoſe prudence and courage they had now ſuch a diſtinguiſhed proof. As it was ſuppoſed by ſome of them, that he ſtill continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might ſuffer for want of proviſions, they eaſily prevailed upon the maſter to leave a quantity of ſuch food as they thought would be moſt agreeable to him; in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it: and there was reaſon to conjecture that this piece of humanity was not altogether uſeleſs to him; for on viſiting the place ſome time after, it was found that the proviſion was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But, however, though many of them were ſatisfied that this Indian ſtill continued near them, yet others would needs conclude that he was gone to the iſland of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would ſoon return with a force ſufficient to ſurpriſe the pink. On this occaſion the maſter of the pink was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it muſt be remembered (and there is a particular reaſon hereafter for attending to this circumſtance) that the maſter, from an oſtentatious imitation of the practice of men of war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the ſetting of the watch. This, he pretended, was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them, that the pink was always on her guard; but it being now repreſented to him, that his great

ſecurity was his concealment, and that the evening gun might poſſibly diſcover him, and ſerve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on to omit it for the future; and his crew being now well refreſhed, and their wood and water ſufficiently repleniſhed, he, in a few days after the eſcape of the Indian, put to ſea, and had a fortunate paſſage to the rendezvous at the iſland of Juan Fernandes, where he arrived on the 10th of Auguſt, as hath been already mentioned in the preceeding chapter.

This veſſel the Anna Pink, was, I obſerved, the laſt that joined the Commodore at Juan Fernandes. The remaning ſhips of the ſquadron were, the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager ſtore-ſhip. The Severn and Pearl parted company with the ſquadron off Cape Noir, and, as we afterwards learned, put back to the Brazils. So that of all the ſhips which came into the South Seas, the Wager, Captain Cheap, was the only one that was miſſing. This ſhip had on board a few field-pieces, mounted for land ſervice, together with ſome cohorn-mortars, and ſeveral kinds of artillery ſtores, and pioneers tools, intended for the operations on ſhore; therefore as the enterpriſe on Baldivia had been reſolved on for the firſt undertaking of the ſquadron, Captain Cheap was extremely ſolicitous that theſe materials which were in his cuſtody might be ready before Baldivia; that if the ſquadron ſhould poſſibly rendezvous there, (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to) no delay nor diſappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilſt the Wager, with theſe views, was making the beſt of her way to her firſt rendezvous off the iſland of Socora, (as there was little probability of meeting any of the ſquadron there) ſhe propoſed to ſteer directly for Baldivia; ſhe made the land on the 14th of May, about the latitude of 47 ſouth, and the captain, exerting himſelf on this

occaſion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after ladder, and diſlocate his ſhoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ſhip, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to ſea, and entangled her more and more with the land; inſomuch, that the next morning at day-break ſhe ſtruck on a ſunken rock, and ſoon after bilged, and grounded between two ſmall iſlands, at about a muſquet ſhot from the ſhore.

In this ſituation the ſhip continued entire a long time, ſo that all the crew had it in their power to get ſafe on ſhore; but a general confuſion taking place, numbers of them, inſtead of conſulting their ſafety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ſhip, arming themſelves with the firſt weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who ſhould oppoſe them. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got ſo extremely drunk, that ſome of them falling down between decks, were drowned as the water flowed into the wreck, being incapable of raiſing themſelves up and retreating from it. The captain, therefore, having done his utmoſt to get the whole crew on ſhore, was at laſt obliged to leave the mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers, and ſuch as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to ſend back the boats, to perſuade thoſe who remained to have ſome regard to their preſervation, though all his efforts were for ſome time without ſucceſs. However, the weather next day proving ſtormy, and there being great danger of the ſhip's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of periſhing, and were deſirous of getting to land; but it ſeems their madneſs had not yet left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off ſo ſoon as they expected, they at laſt pointed a four-pounder,

which was on the quarter-deck, againſt the hut, where they knew the captain reſided on ſhore, and fired two ſhot, which paſſed but juſt over it.

From this ſpecimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame ſome conjecture of the diſorder and anarchy which took place when they at laſt got all on ſhore. For the men conceived that, by the loſs of the ſhip, the authority of the officers was at an end; and they being now on a deſolate coaſt, where ſcarcely any other proviſions could be got, except what ſhould be ſaved out of the wreck, this was another inſurmountable ſource of diſcord; ſince the working upon the wreck, and the ſecuring the proviſions, ſo that they might be preſerved for future exigencies as much as poſſible, and the taking care, that what was neceſſary for their preſent ſubſiſtence might be ſparingly and equally diſtributed, were matters not to be brought about but by diſcipline and ſubordination; and the mutinous diſpoſition of the people, ſtimulated by the impulſes of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpoſe ineffectual: ſo that there were continual concealments, frauds, and thefts, which animated each man againſt his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and conteſts. And hence there was a perverſe and malevolent diſpoſition conſtantly kept up amongſt them, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.

Beſides theſe heart-burnings, occaſioned by petulance, and hunger, there was another important point, which ſet the greateſt part of the people at variance with the captain: this was their differing with him in opinion on the meaſures to be purſued in the preſent exigency. For the captain was determined, if poſſible, to fit up the boats in the beſt manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward, ſince having with him above an hundred men in

health, and having gotten ſome fire arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could maſter any Spaniſh veſſel they ſhould encounter with in thoſe ſeas; and he thought he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous of Juan Fernandes; and he farther inſiſted, that ſhould they light on no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would eaſily carry them thither. But this was a ſcheme that, however prudent, was noways reliſhed by the generality of his people; for being quite jaded with the diſtreſſes and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of proſecuting an enterprize farther, which had hitherto proved ſo diſaſtrous. The common reſolution therefore was, to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the reſt of the boats, to ſteer to the ſouthward, to paſs through the Straits of Magellan, and to range along the eaſt ſide of South America, till they ſhould arrive at Brazil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a paſſage to Great Britain. This project was at firſt ſight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was propoſed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, that circumſtance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniencies, and made them adhere to it with inſurmountable obſtinacy; ſo that the captain himſelf, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquieſce in this reſolution, whilſt he endeavoured underhand to give it all the obſtruction he could, particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat, which he contrived ſhould be of ſuch a ſize, that though it might ſerve to carry them to Juan Fernandes, would yet, he hoped, appear in-

capable of ſo long a navigation, as that to the coaſt of Brazil.

But the captain, by his ſteady oppoſition at firſt to this favourite project, had much imbittered the people againſt him; to which likewiſe the following unhappy accident greatly contributed: There was a midſhipman, whoſe name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremoſt in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himſelf in brawls with moſt of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himſelf with great abuſe and inſolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the leaſt doubted but there were ſome violent meaſures in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader; for which reaſon the captain, and thoſe about him, conſtantly kept themſelves on their guard. One day the purſer having, by the captain's order, ſtopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great bitterneſs, and groſsly inſulted the purſer, who was then delivering out proviſions, juſt by the captain's tent, and was himſelf ſufficiently violent: the purſer, enraged by his ſcurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out, *A mutiny*, adding, *The dog has piſtols*, and then himſelf fired a piſtol at Cozens, which however miſſed him: but the captain, on this outcry, and the report of the piſtol, ruſhed out of his tent, and not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens, as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately ſhot him in the head, without farther deliberation; and though he did not kill him on the ſpot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

However, this accident, though ſufficiently diſpleaſing to the people, did yet for a conſiderable time,

awe them to their duty, and rendered them more ſubmiſſive to the captain's authority; but, at laſt, when towards the middle of October, the long-boat was nearly completed, and they were preparing to put to ſea, the additional provocation he gave them, by covertly traverſing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might, at length, engage a party ſufficient to overturn this favourite meaſure, made them reſolve to make uſe of the death of Cozens, as a reaſon of depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a priſoner to England to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard: but they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England, if their commander ſhould be preſent to confront them: and therefore, when they were juſt ready to put to ſea, they ſet him at liberty, leaving him, and the few who choſe to take their fortunes with him, no other embarkation but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to turn back.

When the ſhip was wrecked, there were alive on board the Wager near an hundred and thirty perſons; of theſe above thirty died during their ſtay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat, and the cutter, to the ſouthward; ſo that there remained with the Captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen perſons, which however were as many as the barge and the yawl, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of October, five months after the ſhipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a ſchooner, weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward, giving the Captain, who, with Lieutenant Hamilton of the land-forces, and the ſurgeon, were then on the beach,

three cheers at their departure: and on the 29th of January following, they arrived at Rio Grande on the coaſt of Brazil; but having by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on ſhore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having periſhed by hunger during the courſe of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them remaining when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking, of itſelf, was a moſt extraordinary one; for (not to mention the length of the run) the veſſel was ſcarcely able to contain the number that firſt put to ſea in her; and their ſtock of proviſions (being only what they had ſaved out of the ſhip) was extremely ſlender: they had this additional misfortune beſides, that the cutter, the only boat they had with them, ſoon broke away from the ſtern, and was ſtaved to pieces; ſo that, when their proviſion and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on ſhore to ſearch for a freſh ſupply.

After the long-boat and cutter were gone, the Captain, and thoſe who were left with him, propoſed to paſs to the northward in the barge, and yawl; but the weather was ſo bad, and the difficulty of ſubſiſting ſo great, that it was two months from the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to ſea. It ſeems the place where the Wager was caſt away was not a part of the continent, as was firſt imagined, but an iſland at ſome diſtance from the main, which afforded no other ſorts of proviſion but ſhell fiſh and a few herbs; and as the greateſt part of what they had gotten from the ſhip was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in extreme want of food, eſpecially as they choſe to preſerve what little ſea-proviſions remained, for their ſtore when they ſhould go to the northward. During their reſidence at this iſland,

which was by the ſeamen denominated Wager's iſland, they had now and then a ſtraggling canoe or two of Indians, which came and bartered their fiſh, and other proviſions, with our people. This was ſome little relief to their neceſſities, and, at another ſeaſon, might perhaps have been greater: for as there were ſeveral Indian huts on ſhore, it was ſuppoſed, that in ſome years, during the height of ſummer, many of theſe ſavages might reſort thither to fiſh. Indeed, from what has been related in the account of the Anna Pink, it ſhould ſeem to be the general practice of thoſe Indians, to frequent this coaſt in the ſummer time for the benefit of fiſhing, and to retire in the winter into a better climate, more to the northward.

On this mention of the Anna pink, I cannot but obſerve, how much it is to be lamented that the Wager's people had no knowledge of her being ſo near them on the coaſt: for as ſhe was not above thirty leagues diſtant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the ſame time the Wager was loſt, and was a fine roomy ſhip, ſhe could eaſily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandes. Indeed, I ſuſpect ſhe was ſtill nearer to them then what is here eſtimated; for ſeveral of the Wager's people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which, I conceive, could be no other than the evening gun fired from the Anna pink, eſpecially as what was heard at Wager iſland was about the ſame time of the day. But to return to Captain Cheap:

Upon the 14th of December, the captain, and his people, embarked in the barge and the yawl, in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the proviſions they could amaſs from the wreck of the ſhip; but they had ſcarcely been an hour at ſea when the wind began to blow hard, and

the ſea ran ſo high, that they were obliged to throw the greateſt part of their proviſions, over-board, to avoid immediate deſtruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in a part of the world where food is ſo difficult to be got: however, they perſiſted in their deſign, putting on ſhore as often as they could to ſeek ſubſiſtence; but, about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befel them, for the yawl ſunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard neceſſity of leaving four marines behind them on that deſolate ſhore. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, they ſtill kept on their courſe to the northward, though greatly delayed by the perverſeneſs of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their ſearch after food occaſioned, and conſtantly ſtruggling with a ſeries of the moſt ſiniſter events; till, at laſt, about the end of January, having made three unſucceſsful attempts to double a head-land, which they ſuppoſed to be what the Spaniards called Cape Tres Montes, it was unanimouſly reſolved, finding the difficulties inſurmountable, to give over this expedition, and to return again to Wager iſland, where they got back about the middle of February, quite diſheartened and dejected with their reiterated diſappointments, and almoſt periſhing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return, they had the good luck to meet with ſeveral pieces of beef which had been waſhed out of the wreck, and were ſwimming in the ſea. This was a moſt ſeaſonable relief to them, after the hardſhips they had endured: and to complete their good fortune, there came, in a ſhort time, two canoes of Indians, amongſt which was a native of Chiloe, who ſpoke a little Spaniſh; and the ſurgeon, who was with Captain Cheap, underſtanding

that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to Chiloe in the barge, he ſhould have her and all that belonged to her, for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven perſons, to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but, after having proceeded for a few days, the captain, and four of his principle officers, being on ſhore, the ſix, who, together with an Indian, remained in the barge, put off with her to ſea, and did not return again.

By this means there were left on ſhore, Captain Cheap, Mr Hamilton, lieutenant of the marines, the honourable Mr Byron, and Mr Campbell, midſhipmen, and Mr Elliot the ſurgeon. One would have thought that their diſtreſſes had, long before this time, been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflection, that their preſent ſituation was much more diſmaying than any thing they had yet gone through, being left on a deſolate coaſt without any proviſion, or the means of procuring any; for their arms, ammunition, and every conveniency they were maſters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge.

But when they had ſufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumſtances of this unexpected calamity, and were perſuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a diſtance, which proved to be that of the Indian who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them; for, it ſeems, he had left Captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a-fiſhing, and had, in the mean time, committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the ſailors had carried to ſea in the barge. When he came on ſhore, and found the barge gone, and his companion miſſing,

he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be perſuaded that the other Indian was not murdered; yet, being at laſt ſatisfied with the account that was given him, he ſtill undertook to carry them to the Spaniſh ſettlements, and (as the Indians are well ſkilled in fiſhing and fowling) to procure them proviſions by the way.

About the middle of March, Captain Cheap and the four who were left with him, ſet out for Chiloe, the Indian having provided a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpoſe. Soon after they embarked, Mr Elliot the ſurgeon died, ſo that there now remained only four of the whole company. At laſt after a very complicated paſſage by land and water, Captain Cheap, Mr Byron, and Mr Campbell, arrived, in the beginning of June, at the iſland of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but on account of ſome quarrel among the Indians, Mr Hamilton did not get thither till two months later. Thus was it above a twelve-month from the loſs of the Wager before this fatiguing peregrination ended; and not till, by a variety of misfortunes, the company was diminiſhed from twenty to no more than four, and thoſe too brought ſo low, that had their diſtreſſes continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have ſurvived; for the Captain himſelf was with difficulty recovered; and the reſt was ſo reduced by the ſeverity of the weather, their labour, their want of food, and of all kinds of neceſſaries, that it was wonderful how they ſupported themſelves ſo long. After ſome ſtay at Chiloe, the Captain and the three who were with him, were ſent to Valpariſo, and thence to St Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year; but on the advice that a cartel was ſettled betwixt Great Britain and Spain, Captain

Cheap, Mr Byron, and Mr Hamilton, were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ſhip; the other midſhipman, Mr Campbell, having changed his religion whilſt at St Jago, choſe to go back to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterwards to Spain on board the Aſia; but having there failed in his endeavours to procure a commiſſion from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get re-inſtated in the Britiſh navy. He has ſince publiſhed a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injuſtice that had been done him, and ſtrongly diſavows his ever being in the Spaniſh ſervice: but as the change of his religion, and his offering himſelf to the court of Spain, (though he was not accepted) are matters which, he is conſcious, are capable of being inconteſtibly proved; on theſe two heads he has been entirely ſilent. And now, after this account of the accidents which befel the Anna pink, and the cataſtrophe of the Wager, I ſhall again reſume the thread of our own ſtory.

CHAP. IV.

Concluſion of our proceedings at Juan Fernandes, from the arrival of the Anna pink, to our final departure from thence.

ABOUT a week after the arrival of our victualler, the Tryal ſloop, that had been ſent to the iſland of Maſa Fuero, returned to an anchor at Juan Fernandes, having been round that iſland without meeting any part of our ſquadron. As upon this occaſion, the iſland of Maſa Fuero was more particularly examined than, I dare ſay, it had ever been before, or perhaps ever will be again; and as the knowledge

of it may, in certain circumſtances, be of great conſequence hereafter, I think it incumbent on me to inſert the accounts given of this place by the officers of the Tryal ſloop.

The Spaniards have generally mentioned two iſlands under the name of Juan Fernandes, ſtiling them the greater and the leſs; the greater being that iſland where we anchored, and the leſs the one we are now deſcribing, which, becauſe it is more diſtant from the continent, they have diſtinguiſhed by the name of Maſa Fuero. The Tryal ſloop found that it bore from the greater Juan Fernandes, W. by S. and was about twenty-two leagues diſtant. It is a much larger and better ſpot than has been generally reported; for former writers have repreſented it as a ſmall barren rock, deſtitute of wood and water, and altogether inacceſſible; whereas our people found it was covered with trees, and that there were ſeveral fine falls of water pouring down its ſides into the ſea: they found, too, that there was a place where a ſhip might come to an anchor on the north ſide of it, tho' indeed, the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is likewiſe ſteep, and has very deep water upon it, ſo that you muſt come to an anchor very near the ſhore, and there lie expoſed to all the winds but a ſoutherly one: and beſides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is alſo a reef of rocks running off the eaſtern point of the iſland, about two miles in length, though there is little danger to be feared from them, becauſe they are always ſeen by the ſea's breaking over them. This place has at preſent one advantage beyond the iſland of Juan Fernandes; for it abounds with goats, who not being acuſtomed to be diſturbed, were noways ſhy nor apprehenſive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at. Theſe animals reſide here in great tranquility, the Spaniards having not thought

the iſland conſiderable enough to be frequented by their enemies, and have not therefore been ſolicitous to deſtroy the proviſions upon it; ſo that no dogs have been hitherto ſet on ſhore there. Beſides the goats, our people found there vaſt numbers of ſeals and ſea-lions. And upon the whole, they ſeemed to imagine, that though it was not the moſt eligible place for a ſhip to refreſh at, yet in caſe of neceſſity, it might afford ſome ſort of ſhelter, and prove of conſiderable uſe, eſpecially to a ſingle ſhip, who might apprehend meeting with a ſuperior force at Fernandes. This may ſuffice in relation to the iſland of Maſa Fuero.

The latter part of the month of Auguſt was ſpent in unloading the proviſions from the Anna pink; when we had the mortification to find, that great quantities of our proviſions, as bread, rice, groats, *&c.* were decayed and unfit for uſe. This was owing to the water, the pink had made by her working and ſtraining in bad weather; for hereby ſeveral of her caſks had rotted, and her bags were ſoaked through. And now as we had no farther occaſion for her ſervice, the Commodore, purſuant to his orders from the board of Admiralty, ſent notice to Mr Gerard her maſter, that he diſcharged the Anna pink from attending the ſquadron; and gave him at the ſame time a certificate, ſpecifying how long ſhe had been employed. In conſequence of this diſmiſſion, her maſter was at liberty either to return directly to England, or to make the beſt of his way to any port where he thought he could take in ſuch a cargo as would anſwer the intereſt of his owners. But the maſter was ſenſible of the bad condition of the ſhip, and of her unfitneſs for any ſuch voyage, wrote the next day an anſwer to the Commodore's meſſage, acquainting Mr Anſon, that from the great quantity of water the pink had made in her paſſage round Cape Horn, and ſince that, in the tempeſtous weather ſhe

had met on the coaſt of Chili, he had reaſon to apprehend that her bottom was very much decayed: he added, that her upper works were rotten abaft; that ſhe was extremly leaky; that her fore-beam was broke; and that in his opinion it was impoſſible to proceed to ſea with her before ſhe had been thoroughly refitted: and he therefore requeſted the Commodore, that the carpenters of the ſquadron might be directed to ſurvey her, that their judgment of her condition might be known. In compliance with this deſire, Mr Anſon immediately ordered the carpenters to take a careful and ſtrict ſurvey of the Anna Pink, and to give him a faithful report under their hands, of the condition in which they found her, directing them, at the ſame time to proceed herein with ſuch circumſpection, that if they ſhould be hereafter called upon, they might be able to make oath of the veracity of their proceedings. Purſuant to theſe orders, the carpenters immediately ſet about the examination, and the next day made their report; which was, that the Pink had no leſs than fourteen knees, and twelve beams broken and decayed; that one breaſt-hook was broken, and another rotten: that her water-ways were open and decayed; that two ſtandards, and ſeveral clamps, were broken, beſides others which were rotten; that all her iron work was greatly decayed; that her ſpirkiting and timbers were very rotten; and that having ripped off part of her ſheathing, they found her wales and outſide planks extremely defective, and her bows and decks very leaky; and in conſequence of theſe defects and decays they certified, that in their opinion ſhe could not depart from the iſland without great hazards, unleſs ſhe was firſt of all thoroughly refitted.

The thorough refitting of the Anna pink, propoſed by the carpenters, was, in our preſent ſituation,

impoſſible to be complied with, as all the plank and iron in the ſquadron was inſufficient for that purpoſe. And now the maſter, finding his own ſentiments confirmed by the opinion of all the carpenters, offered a petition to the Commodore, in behalf of his owners, deſiring, that ſince it appeared he was incapable of leaving the iſland, Mr Anſon would pleaſe to purchaſe the hull and furniture of the pink for the uſe of the ſquadron. Hereupon the Commodore ordered an inventory to be taken of every particular belonging to the pink with its juſt value; and as by this inventory it appeared, that there were many ſtores which would be uſeful in refitting the other ſhips, and, which were at preſent very ſcarce in the ſquadron, by reaſon of the great quantities that had been already expended, he agreed with Mr Gerard to purchaſe the whole together for L. 300. The pink being thus broken up, Mr Gerard, with the hands belonging to the pink, were ſent on board the Glouceſter, as that ſhip had buried the greateſt number of men in proportion to her complement; but afterwards one or two of them were received on board the Centurion, on their own petition, they being extremely averſe to ſailing in the ſame ſhip with their old maſter, on account of ſome particular ill uſage they conceived they had ſuffered from him.

This tranſaction brought us down to the beginning of September; and our people by this time were ſo far recovered of the ſcurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more at preſent; and therefore I ſhall now ſum up the total of our loſs ſince our departure from England, the better to convey ſome idea of our paſt ſufferings, and of our preſent ſtrength. We had buried, on board the Centurion, ſince our leaving St Helen's, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtleſs appear a

moſt extraordinary mortality; but yet on board the Glouceſter it had been much greater; for out of a much ſmaller crew than ours, they had loſt the ſame number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected, that on board the Tryal the ſlaughter would have been the moſt terrible, as her decks were almoſt conſtantly knee-deep in water; but it happened otherwiſe, for ſhe eſcaped more favourable than the reſt, ſince ſhe only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havock of this diſeaſe had fallen ſtill ſeverer on the invalids and marines than on the ſailors; for on board the Centurion, out of fifty invalids, and ſeventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines: and on board the Glouceſter every invalid periſhed, and out of forty-eight marines, only two eſcaped. From this account it appears, that the three ſhips together departed from England with nine hundred and ſixty one men on board, of whom ſix hundred and twenty-ſix were dead before this time; ſo that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be diſtributed amongſt three ſhips, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty-five men and boys; a number greatly inſufficient for manning the Centurion alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three, with the utmoſt exertion of their ſtrength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was ſtill the more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of Pizarro's ſquadron, and had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that ſome part of it at leaſt, had got round into theſe ſeas. Indeed we were ſatisfied, from our own experience, that they muſt have ſuffered greatly in their paſſage; but then every port in the South Seas was open to them, and the whole power of Chili and Peru, would doubtleſs be united in refreſhing and refitting them, and recruiting the

numbers they had loſt; beſides, we had ſome obſcure knowledge of a force to be ſent out from Calloa: and however contemptible the ſhips and ſailors of this part of the world may have been generally eſteemed, it was ſcarcely poſſible for any thing, bearing the name of a ſhip of force, to be feebler or leſs conſiderable than ourſelves. And had there been nothing to be apprehended, from the naval power of the Spaniards in this part of the world, yet our enfeebled condition would nevertheleſs give us the greateſt uneaſineſs, as we were incapable of attempting any of their conſiderable places; for the riſking of twenty men, weak as we then were, was riſking the ſafety of the whole: ſo that we conceived we ſhould be neceſſitated to content ourſelves with what few prizes we could pick up at ſea before we were diſcovered; after which we ſhould in all probability be obliged to depart with precipitation, and eſteem ourſelves fortunate to regain our native country, leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconſiderable miſchief they had received from a ſquadron whoſe equipment had filled them with ſuch dreadful apprehenſions. This was a ſubject on which we had reaſon to imagine the Spaniſh oſtentation would remarkably exert itſelf, tho' the cauſes of our diſappointment, and their ſecurity, were neither to be ſought for in their valour, nor our miſconduct.

Such were the deſponding reflections which at that time aroſe on the review and compariſon of our remaining ſtrength, with our original numbers. Indeed, our fears were far from being groundleſs, or diſproportioned to our feeble and almoſt deſperate ſituation. For though the final event proved more honourable than we had foreboded; yet the intermediate calamities did likewiſe greatly ſurpaſs our moſt gloomy apprehenſions, and could they have been predicted to us at this iſland of Juan Fernandes,

they would doubtleſs have appeared inſurmountable. But to return to our narration:

In the begining of September, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now the ſeaſon for navigation, in this climate, drawing near, we exerted ourſelves in getting our ſhips in readineſs for the ſea. We converted the fore-maſt of the victualler into a main-maſt for the Tryal ſloop; and, ſtill flattering ourſelves with the poſſibility of the arrival of ſome other ſhips of our ſquadron, we intended to leave the main-maſt of the victualler to make a mizen-maſt for the Wager. Thus, all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, eſpied a ſail to the N. E. which continued to approach us, till her courſes appeared even with the horizon. Whilſt ſhe advanced, we had great hopes ſhe might prove one of our ſquadron; but as, at length, ſhe ſteered away to the eaſtward, without hauling in for the iſland, we thence concluded ſhe muſt be a Spaniard. As now great diſputes were ſet on foot about the poſſibility of her having diſcovered our tents on ſhore, ſome of us ſtrongly inſiſting, that ſhe had doubtleſs been near enough to have perceived ſomething, that had given her a jealouſy of an enemy, which had occaſioned her ſtanding to the eaſtward without hauling in: however, leaving theſe conteſts, to be ſettled afterwards, it was reſolved to purſue her; and the Centurion being in the greateſt forwardneſs, we immediately got all our hands on board, ſet up our rigging, bent our ſails and by five in the afternoon got under ſail. We had, at this time, very little wind, ſo that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was, laſted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it ſtatted to a calm. The night coming on, we loſt

ſight of the chaſe, and were extremely impatient for the return of day light, in hopes to find that ſhe had been becalmed as well as we; though I muſt confeſs her greater diſtance from the land was a reaſonable ground for ſuſpecting the contrary, as we indeed found in the morning, to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no ſight of the ſhip from the maſt head. But as we were now ſatisfied that it was an enemy, and the firſt we had ſeen in theſe ſeas, we reſolved not to give over the ſearch lightly; and a ſmall breeze ſpringing up from the W. N. W. we got up our top-gallant maſts and yards, ſet all the ſails, and ſteered to the ſouth-eaſt, in hopes of retrieving our chace, which we imagined to be bound to Valpariſo. We continued on this courſe all that day and the next; and then, not getting ſight of our chace, we gave over the purſuit, conceiving that by that time ſhe muſt in all probability have reached her port. Being therefore determined to return to Juan Fernandes, we hauled up to the S. W. with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there ſprung up a freſh gale from the W. S. W. which obliged us to tack and ſtand to the N. W. At day-break we were agreeably ſurpriſed with the ſight of a ſail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues diſtance. We immediately crouded all the ſail we could, and ſtood after her, and ſoon perceived it not to be the ſame ſhip we originally gave chace to. She at firſt bore down upon us, ſhewing Spaniſh colours, and making a ſignal as to her conſort; but obſerving that we did not anſwer her ſignal, ſhe inſtantly looſed cloſe to the wind, and ſtood to the ſouthward. Our people were now all in ſpirits, and put the ſhip about with great briſkneſs; and as the chace appeared to be a large ſhip and had miſtaken us for her

conſort, we conceived that ſhe was a man of war, and probably one of Pizarro's ſquadron. This induced the Commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown over board, with ſeveral caſks of water and proviſions which ſtood between the guns, ſo that we had ſoon a clear ſhip, ready for an engagement. About nine o'clock we had thick hazy weather, and a ſhower of rain, during which we loſt ſight of the chace; and we were apprehenſive, if this dark weather ſhould continue, that, by going upon the other tack, or by ſome other artifice, ſhe might eſcape us; but it clearing up in leſs than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and fore-reached upon her conſiderably, and were then near enough to diſcover that ſhe was only a merchantman, without ſo much as a ſingle tire of guns. About half an hour after twelve, being got within a reaſonable diſtance of her, we fired four ſhot amongſt her rigging, on which they lowered their top-ſails, and bore down to us, but in very great confuſion, their top-gallant ſails and ſtay ſails all fluttering in the wind: This was owing to their having let run their ſheets and haul-yards juſt as we fired at them; after which not a man among them had courage enough to venture aloft (for there the ſhot had paſſed but juſt before) to take them in. As ſoon as the veſſel came within hale of us, the Commodore ordered them to bring-to under his lee quarter, and then hoiſted out the boat, and ſent Mr Saumurez, his firſt lieutenant, to take poſſeſſion of the prize, with directions to ſend all the priſoners on board the Centurion, but firſt the officers and paſſengers. When Mr Saumurez came on board them, they received him at the ſhip's ſide, with the ſtrongeſt tokens of the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, for they were all of them (eſpecially the paſſengers, who were twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and un-

der the greateſt apprehenſions of meeting with very ſevere and cruel uſage; but the lieutenant endeavoured, with great courteſy, to diſſipate their fright, aſſuring them that their fears were altogether groundleſs, and that they would find a generous enemy in the Commodore, who was not leſs remarkable for his lenity and reſolution than for his humanity and courage. The priſoners who were firſt ſent on board the Centurion informed us, that our prize was called Neuſtra Senora del Monte Carmello, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo conſiſted chiefly of ſugar, and great quantities of blue cloth, made in the province of Quito, ſomewhat reſembling our Engliſh coarſe broad cloths, but inferior to them. They had, beſides, ſeveral bales of a coarſer ſort of cloth, of different colours, ſomewhat like Colcheſter bays, called by them, Pannia da Tierra, with a few bales of cotton, and ſome tobacco, which, though ſtrong, was not ill-flavoured. Theſe were the principal goods on board her; but we found beſides, what was to us much more valuable than the reſt of the cargo, this was ſome trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three ſerons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 lb. avoirdupois. The ſhip's burden was about four hundred and fifty tons; ſhe had fifty-three ſailors on board, both whites and blacks, came from Calloa, and had been twenty-ſeven days at ſea before ſhe fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of Valpariſo, in the kingdom of Chili, and propoſed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, ſome gold, dried beef, and ſmall cordage, which at Calloa they convert into larger rope. Our prize had been built upwards of thirty years; yet, as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they eſteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewiſe her ſails, which were

made of cotton. She had only three four-pounders, which were altogether unſerviceable, their carriages being ſcarcely able to ſupport them: and there were no ſmall arms on board, except a few piſtols belonging to the paſſengers. The priſoners informed us that they left Callao in company with two other ſhips, whom they had parted with ſome days before, and at firſt they had conceived us to be one of their company; and by the deſcription we gave them of the ſhip we had chaſed from Juan Fernandes, they aſſured us ſhe was of their number; but that the coming in ſight of that iſland was directly repugnant to the merchant's inſtructions, who had expreſsly forbid it, as knowing that if the Engliſh ſquadron was in thoſe ſeas, the iſland of Fernandes was moſt probably the place of their rendezvous.

After this ſhort account of the ſhip and her cargoe, it is neceſſary that I ſhould relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the priſoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here firſt learned, with certainty, the force and deſtination of that ſquadron which cruized off the Madeiras at our arrival there, and afterwards chaſed the Pearl in our paſſage to Port St Julian. This we now knew was a ſquadron compoſed of five large Spaniſh ſhips, commanded by Admiral Pizarro, and purpoſely fitted out to traverſe our deſigns, as hath been already more amply related in the third chapter of the firſt book. We had, at the ſame time, too, the ſatisfaction to find that Pizarro, after his utmoſt endeavours to gain his paſſage into theſe ſeas, had been forced back again into the river of Plate, with the loſs of two of his largeſt ſhips; and beſides this diſappointment of Pizarro, which, conſidering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we farther learned, that though an embargo had been

laid upon all ſhipping in theſe ſeas, by the viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, on a ſuppoſition that about that time we might arrive upon the coaſt, yet it now no longer ſubſiſted: for on the account ſent over land by Pizarro of his own diſtreſſes, part of which they knew we muſt have encountered, as we were at ſea during the ſame time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to ſet ſail from St Catharine's, they were fully ſatisfied that we were either ſhipwrecked, or had periſhed at ſea, or at leaſt had been obliged to put back again; as it was conceived impoſſible for any ſhips to continue at ſea during ſo long an interval: and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the firm perſuaſion of our having miſcarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This laſt article made us flatter ourſelves, that as the enemy were ſtill a ſtranger to our having got round Cape Horn, and the navigation of theſe ſeas was reſtored, we might meet with ſome valuable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourſelves for the incapacity we were under of attempting any of their conſiderable ſettlements on ſhore. And this much we were certain of, from the information of our priſoners, that whatever our ſucceſs might be as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak, as we were, from the Spaniſh force in this part of the world; though we diſcovered that we had been in the moſt imminent peril from the enemy, when we leaſt apprehended it, and when our other diſtreſſes were at the greateſt height: for we learned from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the expreſs he diſpatched to the viceroy of Peru, after his return to the river of Plate, had intimated to him, that it was poſſible ſome part at leaſt of the Engliſh ſquadron might get round: but that he was certain from his own experience, that if they did arrive in thoſe

ſeas, it muſt be in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, he adviſed the viceroy, in order to be ſecure at all events, to ſend what ſhips of war he had to the ſouthward, where in all probability they would intercept us ſingly, before we had an opportunity of touching at any port for refreſhment; in which caſe he doubted not but we ſhould prove an eaſy conqueſt. The viceroy of Peru approved of this advice: and as he had already fitted out four ſhips of force from Calloa, one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns, which were intended to join Pizarro when he arrived on the coaſt of Chili; the viceroy now ſtationed three of theſe off the port of Conception, and one of them at the iſland of Fernandes, where they continued cruiſing for us till the 6th of June; and then not ſeeing any thing of us, and conceiving it to be impoſſible that we could have kept the ſeas ſo long, they quitted their courſe and returned to Calloa, fully perſuaded that we had either periſhed, or at leaſt had been driven back. Now, as the time of quitting their ſtations was but a few days before our arrival at the iſland of Fernandes, it is evident, that had we made that iſland on our firſt ſearch for it, without hauling in for the main to ſecure our eaſting (a circumſtance which, at that time, we conſidered as very unfortunate to us, on account of the numbers which we loſt by our longer continuance at ſea,) had we, I ſay, made the iſland on the 28th of May, when we firſt expected to ſee it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtleſs fallen in with ſome part of the Spaniſh ſquadron; and in the diſtreſſed condition we were then in, the meeting with a healthy well-provided enemy was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might perhaps have proved fatal, not only to us, but to the Tryal, the Glouceſter, and the Anna pink, who ſeparately joined us, and who were each of them leſs

capable than we were of making any conſiderable reſiſtance. I ſhall only add, that theſe Spaniſh ſhips ſent out to intercept us, had been greatly ſhattered by a ſtorm during their cruiſe; and that, after their arrival at Calloa, they had been laid up. And our priſoners aſſured us, that whenever intelligence was received at Lima of our being in theſe ſeas, it would be at leaſt two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we, in our reduced circumſtances, could wiſh for. And now we were no longer at a loſs as to the broken jars, aſhes, and fiſh-bones, which we had obſerved at our firſt landing at Juan Fernandes, theſe things being doubtleſs the relicts of the cruiſers ſtationed off that port. Having thus ſatisfied ourſelves in the material articles of our inquiry, and having gotten on board the Centurion moſt of the priſoners and all the ſilver, we, at eight in the ſame evening, made ſail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at ſix the next morning, diſcovered the iſland of Fernandes, where the following day both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident which occurred when the prize and her crew came into the bay where the reſt of the ſquadron lay. The Spaniards in the Carmelo had been ſufficiently informed of the diſtreſſes we had gone through, and were greatly ſurpriſed that we had ever ſurmounted them, but when they ſaw the Tryal ſloop at anchor they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed, that, after all our fatigues, we had the induſtry (beſides refitting our other ſhips) to complete ſuch a veſſel in ſo ſhort a time, they taking it for granted that we had built her upon the ſpot: nor was it without great difficulty they were at laſt prevailed on to believe, that ſhe came from England with the reſt of the ſquadron; they

long inſiſting, that it was impoſſible ſuch a bauble could paſs round Cape Horn, when the beſt ſhips of Spain were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandes, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined, and it appearing from them, and from the accounts of our priſoners, that ſeveral other merchantmen were bound from Calloa to Valpariſo, Mr Anſon diſpatched the Tryal ſloop, the very next morning, to cruiſe off the laſt mentioned port, reinforcing her with ten hands from on board his own ſhip. Mr Anſon likewiſe reſolved, on the intelligence recited above, to ſeparate the ſhips under his command, and employ them in diſtinct cruiſes, as he thought that by this means we ſhould not only increaſe our chance for prizes, but that we ſhould likewiſe run a leſs riſk of alarming the coaſt, and of being diſcovered. And now, the ſpirits of our people being greatly raiſed, and their deſpondency diſſipated by this earneſt of ſucceſs, they forgot all their paſt diſtreſſes, and reſumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured indefatigably in completing our water, receiving our lumber, and in preparing to take our farewell of the iſland: but as theſe occupations took us up four or five days with all our induſtry, the Commodore, in that interval, directed that the guns belonging to the Anna pink, being four ſix-pounders, four four-pounders, and two ſwivels, ſhould be mounted on board the Carmelo, our prize: and having ſent on board the Glouceſter ſix paſſengers, and twenty-three ſeamen, to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhip, he directed Captain Mitchell to leave the iſland as ſoon as poſſible, the ſervice demanding the utmoſt diſpatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees ſouth, and there to cruiſe off the high land of Paita, at ſuch a diſtance from ſhore as ſhould prevent him from being diſcovered. On this ſtation he was to continue till he

ſhould be joined by the Commodore, which would be whenever it ſhould be known that the viceroy had fitted out the ſhips at Calloa, or on Mr Anſon's receiving any other intelligence that ſhould make it neceſſary to unite our ſtrength. Theſe orders being delivered to the Captain of the Glouceſter, and all our buſineſs completed, we, on the Saturday following, being the 19th of September, weighed our anchor, in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our laſt leave of the iſland of Juan Fernandes, and ſteering to the eaſtward, with an intention of joining the Tryal ſloop in her ſtation off Valpariſo.

CHAP. V.

Our cruiſe from the time of our leaving Juan Fernandes, to the taking the town of Paita.

ALTHOUGH the Centurion, with her prize the Carmelo, weighed from the bay of Juan Fernandes on the 19th of September, leaving the Glouceſter at anchor behind her, yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22d of the ſame month, in the evening, before we loſt ſight of the iſland; after which we continued our courſe to the eaſtward, in order to reach our ſtation, and to join the Tryal off Valpariſo. The next night the weather proved ſqually, and we ſpilt our main top ſail, which we handed for the preſent, but got it repaired, and ſet it again the next morning. In the evening, a little before ſun-ſet, we ſaw two ſail to the eaſtward, on which our prize ſtood directly from us, to avoid giving any ſuſpicion of our being cruiſers; whilſt we in the mean time, made ourſelves ready for an engagement, and ſteer-

ed, with all our canvas towards the two ſhips we had diſcovered. We ſoon perceived that one of theſe, which had the appearance of being a very ſtout ſhip, made directly for us, whilſt the other kept at a great diſtance. By ſeven o'clock we were within piſtol-ſhot of the neareſt, and had a broadſide ready to pour into her, the gunners having their matches in their hands and only waiting for oders to fire; but, as we knew it was now impoſſible for her to eſcape us, Mr Anſon, before he permitted us to fire, ordered the maſter to hale the ſhip in Spaniſh, on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr Hughes, lieutenant of the Tryal, anſwered us in Engliſh, and informed us, that ſhe was a prize taken by the Tryal a few days before, and that the other ſail at a diſtance was the Tryal herſelf diſabled in her maſts. We were ſoon after joined by the Tryal, and Captain Saunders, her commander, came on board the Centurion. He acquainted the Commodore that he had taken this ſhip the 18th inſtant; that ſhe was a prime ſailor, and had coaſt him thirty-ſix hours chaſe before he could come up to her; that, for ſome time, he gained ſo little upon her, that he began to deſpair of taking her; and the Spaniards, though alarmed at firſt with ſeeing nothing but a cloud of ſail in purſuit of them, the Tryal's hull being ſo low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodneſs of their ſhip, and finding how little the Tryal neared them, they at length laid aſide their fears, and recommending themſelves to the bleſſed virgin for protection, began to think themſelves ſecure. Indeed the ſucceſs was very near giving honour to their *Ave Marias*; for altering their courſe in the night, and ſhutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being ſeen, they had ſome chance of eſcaping; but a ſmall crevice in one of the ſhutters rendered all

their invocations ineffectual; for through this crevice the people on board the Tryal perceived a light, which they chaſed till they arrived within gun-ſhot, and then Captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broad-ſide, when they flattered themſelves they were got out of his reach; however, for ſome time after they ſtill kept the ſame ſail aboard, and it was not obſerved that this firſt ſalute had made any impreſſion on them; but juſt as the Tryal was preparing to repeat her broadſide, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their ſails, and ſubmitted without any oppoſition. She was one of the largeſt merchantmen employed in thoſe ſeas, being about ſix hundred tons burden, and was called the Aranzazu. She was bound from Calloa to Valpariſo, and had much the ſame cargo with the Carmelo we had taken, except that her ſilver amounted only to about L. 500 Sterling.

But to balance this ſucceſs we had the misfortune to find that the Tryal had ſprung her main maſt, and that her main top-maſt had come by the board; and as we were all of us ſtanding to the eaſtward the next morning, with a freſh gale at South, ſhe had the additional ill luck to ſpring her fore maſt, ſo that now ſhe had not a maſt left on which ſhe could carry ſail. Theſe unhappy incidents were ſtill aggravated by the impoſſibility we were juſt then under of aſſiſting her: for the wind blew ſo hard, and raiſed ſuch a hollow ſea, that we could not venture to hoiſt out our own boat, and conſequently could have no communication with her; ſo that we were obliged to lie-to for the greateſt part of forty eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herſelf in her preſent unhappy ſituation. It was no ſmall accumulation to thoſe misfortunes, that we were all the while driving to the leeward of our ſtation, at the very time too, when by our intelligence we had reaſon to expect ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips

would appear upon the coaſt, who would now gain the port of Valpariſo without obſtruction. And I am verily perſuaded, that the embaraſſment we received from the diſmaſting of the Tryal, and our abſence from our intended ſtation, occaſioned thereby, deprived us of ſome conſiderable captures.

The weather proving ſomewhat more moderate on the 27th, we ſent our boat for the captain of the Tryal, who when he came on board us, produced an inſtrument, ſigned by himſelf and all his officers, repreſenting, that the ſloop, being diſmaſted, was ſo very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather, it was neceſſary to ply the pums conſtantly, and that they were then ſcarcely ſufficient to keep her free; ſo that in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increaſed upon them: and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at preſent ſo very defective, that if they met with much bad weather, they muſt all inevitably periſh; and therefore they petitioned the Commodore to take ſome meaſure for their future ſafety. But the refitting of the Tryal, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking, that, in the preſent conjuncture, greatly exceeded our power; for we had no maſts to ſpare her; we had no ſtores to complete her rigging; nor had we any port where ſhe might be hove down, and her bottom examined: beſides, had a port, and proper requiſites for this purpoſe been in our poſſeſſion, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in ſo critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away ſo much time as would have been neceſſary for theſe operations. The Commodore, therefore, had no choice left him, but was under a neceſſity of taking out her people and deſtroying her; however, as he conceived it expedient to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the Tryal's prize, (which had been often employed by the viceroy of Peru as a man of war) to be a frigate in his Ma-

jeſty's ſervice, manning her with the Tryal's crew, and giving commiſſions to the captain, and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the Spaniſh ſervice, had mounted thirty-two guns; but ſhe was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that were on board the Tryal, and eight that had belonged to the Anna Pink. When this affair was thus reſolved on, Mr Anſon gave orders to Captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the ſloop the arms, ſtores, ammunition, and every thing that could be of any uſe to the other ſhips, and then to ſcuttle her and ſink her. After Captain Saunders had ſeen her deſtroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate, (to be called the Tryal Prize) and to cruiſe off the high land of Valpariſo, keeping it from him N. N. W. at the diſtance of twelve or fourteen leagues: for as all ſhips bound from Valpariſo to the northward ſteer that courſe, Mr Anſon propoſed, by this means, to ſtop any intelligence that might be diſpatched to Callao, of two of their ſhips being miſſing, which might give them apprehenſions of the Engliſh ſquadron being in their neighbourhood. The Tryal's prize was to continue on this ſtation, twenty-four days, and if not joined by the Commodore at the expiration of that term, ſhe was then to proceed down the coaſt to Piſco or Naſca, where ſhe would be certain to meet with Mr Anſon. The Commodore likewiſe ordered Lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the Centurion's prize, to keep company with Captain Saunders, both to aſſiſt him in unloading the ſloop, and alſo, that by ſpreading in their cruiſe, there might be leſs danger of any of the enemy's ſhips ſlipping by unobſerved. Theſe orders being diſpatched, the Centurion parted from the other veſſels at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of September, directing her courſe to the ſouthward, with a view

of cruiſing for ſome days to the windward of Valpariſo.

And now, by this diſtribution of our ſhips, we flattered ourſelves, that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we poſſibly could with our ſmall force, ſince our diſpoſition was doubtleſs the moſt prudent that could be projected. For as we might ſuppoſe the Glouceſter, by this time, to be drawing near the high land of Paita, we were enabled by our ſeparate ſtations, to intercept all veſſels employer either betwixt Peru and Chili to the ſouthward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward; ſince the principal trade from Peru to Chili being carried on to the port of Valpariſo, the Centurion, cruiſing to the windward of Valpariſo, would in all probability meet with them, as it is the conſtant practice of thoſe ſhips to fall in with the coaſt to the windward of that port: the Glouceſter would in like manner, be in the way of the trade bound from Panama, or to the northward, to any part of Peru; ſince the high land off which ſhe was ſtationed, is conſtantly made by every ſhip in that voyage. And whilſt the Centurion and Glouceſter were thus ſituated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the Tryal's prize, and Centurion's prize, were as conveniently poſted for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ſhips bound from Valpariſo to the northward; for it was on borad theſe veſſels, that it was to be feared ſome account of us might poſſibly be ſent to Peru.

But the moſt prudent diſpoſitions carry with them only a probability of ſucceſs, and can never enſure its certainty; ſince thoſe chances which it was reaſonable to overlook in deliberation, are ſometimes of moſt powerful influence in execution. Thus, in the preſent caſe, the diſtreſs of the Tryal, and the quiting our ſtation to aſſiſt her, (events which no degree of prudence could either foreſee or obviate) gave an

opportunity to all the ſhips bound to Valpariſo, to reach that port without moleſtation, during this unlucky interval. So that though after leaving Captain Saunders, we were very expeditious in regaining our ſtation, where we got the 29th at noon, yet, in playing on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to diſcover a ſail of any ſort: and then having loſt all hopes of meeting with better fortune by a longer ſtay, we made ſail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes; but when we arrived off the high land, where they were directed to cruiſe, we did not find them, though we continued there four or five days. We ſuppoſed that ſome chaſe had occaſioned their leaving their ſtation, and therefore we proceeded down the coaſt to the high land of Naſca, which was the ſecond rendezvous, where Captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we got on the 21ſt, and were in great expectation of falling in with ſome of the enemy's veſſels, as both the accounts of former voyages, and the information of our priſoners, aſſured us, that all ſhips bound to Callao conſtantly make this land, to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithſtanding the advantages of this ſtation, we ſaw no ſail till the 2d of November, when two ſhips appeared in ſight together; we immediately gave them chace, and ſoon perceived that they were the Tryal's and the Centurion's prizes. As they had the wind of us, we brought to and waited their coming up; when Captain Saunders came on board us, and acquainted the Commodore that he had cleared the Tryal purſuant to his orders, and having ſcuttled her, he remained by her till ſhe ſunk, but that it was the 4th of October before this was effected; for there ran ſo large and hollow a ſea, that the ſloop having neither maſt nor ſails to ſteddy her, rolled and pitched ſo violently, that it was impoſſible

for a boat to lie along-ſide of her for the greateſt part of the time: and during this attendance on the ſloop, they were all driven ſo far to the north-weſt, that they were afterwards obliged to ſtretch a long way to the weſtward to regain the ground they had loſt, which was the reaſon that we had not met with them on their ſtation, as we expected. We found they had not been more fortunate on their cruiſe than we were, for they had ſeen no veſſel ſince they ſeparated from us.

The little ſucceſs we all had, and our certainty, that had any ſhips been ſtirring in theſe ſeas, for ſome time paſt, we muſt have met with them, made us believe, that the enemy at Valpariſo, on the miſſing of the two ſhips we had taken, had ſuſpected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had conſequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the ſouthern parts. We likewiſe apprehended that they might by this time be fitting out the men of war at Callao; as we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an expreſs from Valpariſo to reach Lima in twenty-nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty ſince we had taken our firſt prize, theſe apprehenſions of an embargo along the coaſt, and of the equipment of the Spaniſh ſquadron at Callao, determined the Commodore to haſten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join Captain Mitchell (who was ſtationed off Paita) as ſoon as poſſible, that our ſtrength being united, we might be prepared to give the ſhips from Callao a warm reception, if they dared to put to ſea. With this view we bore away the ſame afternoon, taking particular care to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, that there might be no danger of our being diſcovered from thence; for we knew that all the country-ſhips were commanded, under the ſevereſt penalty, not to ſail by the port of Callao without ſtopping; and as this order was con-

ſtantly complied with, we ſhould undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were ſeen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the Spaniſh ſquadron in our route, the Commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the Carmelo. And now ſtanding to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the ſmall iſland called St Gallan, which bore from us N. N. E. about ſeven leagues diſtant. This iſland lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees ſouth, and about five miles to the northward of a high land called Morro Veijo, or, The Old Man's Head. I mention this iſland and the high land near it, more particularly, becauſe between them is the moſt eligible ſtation on that coaſt for cruiſing upon the enemy; as hereabouts all ſhips bound to Callao, whether from the northward or the ſouthward, run well in with the land. By the 5th of November, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the high land of Barranca, lying in the latitude of 10 : 36 ſouth, bearing from us N. E. by E. diſtant eight or nine leagues; and an hour and an half afterwards, we had the ſatisfaction ſo long wiſhed for, of ſeeing a ſail. She firſt appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chace; but the Centurion ſo much outſailed the two prizes, that we ſoon ran them out of ſight, and gained conſiderably on the chace: however, night coming on before we came up with her, we about ſeven o'clock loſt ſight of her, and were in ſome perplexity what courſe to ſteer; but at laſt Mr Anſon reſolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his ſails ſet, and not to change his courſe; for though we had no doubt but the chaſe would alter her courſe in the night, yet, as it was uncertain what tack ſhe would go upon, it was thought prudent to keep on our

courſe, as we muſt by this means unavoidably come near her, rather than to change it on conjecture; when, if we ſhould miſtake, we muſt infallibly loſe her. Thus then we continued the chaſe about an hour and an half in the dark, ſome one or other on board us conſtantly imagining they diſcerned her ſails right a-head of us; but at length Mr Brett, our ſecond lieutenant, did really diſcover her about four points on the larboard bow, ſteering off to the ſea-ward: we immediately clapped the helm a-weather, and ſtood for her; and in leſs than hour came up with her, and having fired fourteen ſhot at her, ſhe ſtruck. Our third lieutenant, Mr Dennis, was ſent in the boat with ſixteen men, to take poſſeſſion of the prize, and to return the priſoners to our ſhip. This veſſel was named the Santa Tereſa de Jeſus, built at Guaiaquil, of about three hundred tons burden, and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biſcayer: ſhe was bound from Guaiaquil to Callao; her loading conſiſted of timber, cocoa, cocoa-nuts, tobacco, hides, Pito-thread, (which is very ſtrong, and is made of a ſpecies of graſs) Quito cloth, wax, *&c.* The ſpecie on board her was inconſiderable, being principally ſmall ſilver money, and not amounting to more than L. 170 Sterling. It is true, her cargo was of great value, could we have diſpoſed of it: but the Spaniards having ſtrict orders never to ranſom their ſhips, all the goods that we took in theſe ſeas, except what little we had occaſion for ourſelves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourſelves, it was ſome ſatisfaction to us to conſider, that it was ſo much really loſt to the enemy, and that the diſpoiling them was no contemptible branch of that ſervice in which we were now employed by our country.

Beſides our prize's crew which amounted to forty-

five hands, there were on board her ten paſſengers, conſiſting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of Spaniſh parents, together with three black ſlaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldeſt about twenty-one, and the youngeſt about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of theſe years ſhould be exceſſively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom from the former outrages of the buccaneers, and by the artful inſinuations of their prieſts, they had been taught to conſider as the moſt terrible and brutal of all mankind. Theſe apprehenſions, too, were, in the preſent inſtance, exaggerated by the ſingular beauty of the youngeſt of the women, and the riotous diſpoſition which they may well expect to find in a ſet of ſailors, who had not ſeen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of theſe terrors, the women all hid themſelves upon our officer's coming on board, and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could perſuade them to approach the light; however, he ſoon ſatisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct, and by his aſſurances of their future ſecurity, and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. Nor were theſe aſſurances of the officer invalidated in the ſequel; for the Commodore being informed of the matter, ſent directions that they ſhould be continued on board their own ſhip, with the uſe of the ſame apartments, and with all the other conveniencies they had enjoyed before, giving ſtrict orders that they ſhould receive no kind of inquietude or moleſtation whatever. And that they might be the more certain of having theſe orders complied with, or have the means of complaining if they were not, the Commodore permitted the pilot, who, in Spaniſh ſhips, is generally the ſecond perſon on board, to ſtay with them as their guardian

and protector. The pilot was particularly choſen for this purpoſe by Mr Anſon, as he ſeemed to be extremely intereſted in all that concerned the women, and had at firſt declared that he was married to the youngeſt of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the reſt of the priſoners, and other circumſtances, that he aſſerted this with a view the better to ſecure them from the inſults they expected on their firſt falling into our hands. By this compaſſionate and indulgent behaviour of the Commodore, the conſternation of our female priſoners entirely ſubſided, and they continued eaſy and chearful the whole time they were with us, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly hereafter.

I have before obſerved, that, at the beginning of this chaſe, the Centurion ran her two conſorts out of ſight, on which account we lay-by all the night after we had taken the prize, for Captain Saunders and Lieutenant Saumarez to join us, firing guns, and making falſe fires every half hour, to prevent their paſſing by us unobſerved; but they were ſo far aſtern, that they neither heard nor ſaw any of our ſignals, and were not able to come up with us, till broad daylight. When they had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four ſail in company. We here found the ſea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour. This, upon examination, we imputed to an immenſe quantity of ſpawn ſpread upon its ſurface; for taking up ſome of the water in a wine-glaſs, it ſoon changed from a dirty aſpect to a clear cryſtal, with only ſome red globules of a ſlimy nature floating on the top. At preſent having a ſupply of timber on board our new prize, the Commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a ſwivel gun-ſtock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increaſe their force, in caſe we ſhould be obliged to have re-

courſe to them for boarding ſhips, or for any attempts on ſhore.

As we ſtood from hence to the northward nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, though we ſpread our ſhips in ſuch a manner, that it was not probable any veſſel of the enemy could eſcape us. In our run along this coaſt, we generally obſerved, that there was a current which ſet us to the northward at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees of ſouth latitude, we began to be attended with vaſt numbers of flying-fiſh, and bonitos, which were the firſt we ſaw after our departure from the coaſt of Brazil. But it is remarkable, that on the eaſt ſide of South America, they extended to a much higher latitude than they do on the weſt ſide; for we did not loſe them on the coaſt of Brazil till we approached the ſouthern tropic. The reaſon for this diverſity is doubtleſs the different degrees of heat obtaining, in the ſame latitude, on different ſides of that continent. And on this occaſion, I muſt beg leave to make a ſhort digreſſion on the heat and cold of different climates, and on the varieties which occur in the ſame place in different parts of the year, and in different places in the ſame degrees of latitude.

The antients conceived, that of the five zones, into which they divided the ſurface of the globe, two only were habitable, ſuppoſing that the heat between the tropics, and the cold within the polar circles, were too intenſe to be ſupported by mankind. The falſhood of their reaſoning has been long evinced; but the particular compariſons of the heat and cold of theſe various climates has as yet been very imperfectly conſidered: however, enough is known ſafely to determine this poſition, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hotteſt on the globe, as many of thoſe within the polar circles are far from

enduring that extreme degree of cold to which their ſituation ſhould ſeem to ſubject them; that is to ſay, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumſtances than upon its diſtance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This propoſition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this ſenſe it cannot be denied that the city of London, for inſtance, enjoys much warmer ſeaſons than the bottom of Hudſon's Bay, which is nearly in the ſame latitude with it; but where the ſeverity of the winter is ſo great, that it will ſcarcely permit the hardieſt of our garden plants to live. And if the compariſon be made between the coaſt of Brazil and the weſtern ſhore of South America, as, for example, betwixt Bahia and Lima, the difference will be ſtill more conſiderable; for though the coaſt of Brazil is extremely ſultry, yet the coaſt of the South Seas in the ſame latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; ſince in ranging along it we did not once meet with ſo warm weather as is frequent in a ſummer's day in England; which was ſtill the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refreſh and cool the air.

The cauſes of this temperature in the South Seas are not difficult to be aſſigned, and ſhall be hereafter mentioned. I am now only ſolicitous to eſtabliſh the truth of this aſſertion, that the latitude of a place alone is no rule whereby to judge of the degree of heat and cold which obtains there. Perhaps this poſition might be more briefly confirmed, by obſerving, that on the tops of the Andes, though under the equinoctial, the ſnow never melts the whole year round; a criterion of cold ſtronger than what is known to take place in many parts far removed within the polar circle.

I have hitherto conſidered the temperature of the

air all the year through, and the groſs eſtimations of heat and cold, which every one makes from his own ſenſation. If this matter be examined by means of thermometers, which, in reſpect to the abſolute degree of heat and cold, are doubtleſs the moſt unerring evidences; if this be done, the reſult will be indeed moſt wonderful; ſince it will hence appear, that the heat in very high latitudes, as at Peterſburgh, for inſtance, is at particular times much greater than any that has been hitherto obſerved between the tropics; and that even at London, in the year 1746, there was the part of one day conſiderably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ſhip of Mr Anſon's ſquadron, in running from thence to Cape Horn and back again, and paſſing twice under the ſun; for, in the ſummer of that year, the thermometer in London, (being one of thoſe graduated according to the method of Farenheit) ſtood once at 78; and the greateſt height at which a thermometer of the ſame kind ſtood in the foregoing ſhip, I find to be 76: this was at St Catharine's, in the latter end of December, when the ſun was within about three degrees of the vertex. And as to Peterſburgh, I find, by the acts of the academy eſtabliſhed there, that in the year 1734, on the 20th and the 25th of July, the thermometer roſe to 98 in the ſhade, that is, it was twenty-two diviſions higher than it was found to be at St Catharine's; which is a degree of heat, that were it not authoriſed by the regularity and circumſpection with which the obſervations ſeem to have been made, would appear altogether incredible.

If it ſhould be aſked, how comes it to paſs then, that the heat in many places between the tropics, is eſteemed ſo violent and inſufferable, when it appears, by theſe inſtances, that it is ſometimes rivalled, or exceeded in very high latitudes, not far from the polar circle? I ſhould anſwer, that the eſtimation of heat,

in any particular place, ought not to be founded upon that degree of heat, which may now and then obtain there, but is rather to be deduced from the medium obſerved in a whole ſeaſon, or perhaps, in a whole year: and in this light, it will eaſily appear how much more intenſe the ſame degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For inſtance, in comparing together St Catharine's and Peterſburgh, we will ſuppoſe the ſummer heat at St Catharine's to be 76, and the winter heat to be twenty diviſions ſhort of it: I do not make uſe of this laſt conjecture upon ſufficient obſervation; but I am apt to ſuſpect that the allowance is full large. Upon this ſuppoſition then, the medium heat all the year round will be 66, and this, perhaps, by night as well as day, with no great variation. Now thoſe who have attended to thermometers will readily own, that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would, by the generality of mankind, be ſtiled violent and ſuffocating. But at Peterſburgh, though a few times in the year, the heat, by the thermometer, may be conſiderably greater than at St Catharine's; yet, as at other times, the cold is immenſely ſharper, the medium for a year, or even for one ſeaſon only, would be far ſhort of 66. For I find that the thermometer at Peterſburgh, is at leaſt five times greater from its higheſt to its loweſt point, than what I have ſuppoſed to take place at St Catharine's.

Beſides this eſtimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a conſiderable time together; there is another circumſtance which will ſtill augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminiſh that of the colder, though I do not remember to have ſeen it remarked in any author. To explain myſelf more diſtinctly upon this head, I muſt obſerve, that the meaſure of abſolute heat, marked by

the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the ſenſation of heat, with which human bodies are affected: for as the preſence and perpetual ſucceſſion of freſh air is neceſſary to our reſpiration; ſo there is a ſpecies of tainted or ſtagnated air often produced by the continuance of great heats, which being leſs proper for reſpiration, never fails to excite in us an idea of ſultrineſs and ſuffocating warmth, much beyond what the heat of the air alone, ſuppoſing it pure and agitated, would occaſion. Hence it follows, that the mere inſpection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cauſe; and hence it follows too, that the heat in moſt places between the tropics, muſt be much more troubleſome and uneaſy than the ſame degree of abſolute heat in a high latitude; for the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of ſteams and vapours from the ſoil and water; and theſe being, many of them, of an impure and noxious kind, and being not eaſily removed, by reaſon of the regularity of the winds in thoſe parts, which only ſhift the exhalations from place to place, without diſperſing them, the atmoſphere is, by this means, rendered leſs capable of ſupporting the animal functions, and mankind are conſequently affected with what they ſtile a moſt intenſe and ſtifling heat: whereas, in the higher latitudes, theſe vapours are probably raiſed in ſmaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently diſperſe them; ſo that the air being in general pure, and leſs ſtagnant, the ſame degree of abſolute heat is not attended with that uneaſy and ſuffocating ſenſation. This may ſuffice, in general, with reſpect to the preſent ſpeculation: but I cannot help wiſhing, as it is a ſubject in which mankind, eſpecially travellers of all ſorts are very much intereſted, that it were more thoroughly

and accurately examined; and that all ſhips, bound to the warmer climates, would furniſh themſelves with thermometers of a known fabric, and would obſerve them daily, and regiſter their obſervations; for, conſidering the turn to philoſophical inquiries, which has obtained in Europe for the laſt four-ſcore years, it is incredible how very rarely any thing of this kind hath been attended to. As to my own part, I do not recollect that I have ever ſeen any obſervations of the heat and cold, either in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, which were made by mariners or officers of veſſels, except thoſe made by Mr Anſon's order, on board the Centurion, and by Captain Legg, on board the Severn, which was another ſhip of our ſquadron.

This digreſſion I have been, in ſome meaſure, drawn into, by the conſideration of the fine weather we met with on the coaſt of Peru, even under the equenoctial itſelf; but the particularities of this weather I have not yet deſcribed: I ſhall now therefore add, that, in this climate, every circumſtance concurred that could make the open air and the day-light deſirable. For, in other countries, the ſcorching heat of the ſun, in ſummer, renders the greateſt part of the day unapt either for labour or amuſement, and the frequent rains are not leſs troubleſome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this happy climate the ſun rarely appears; not that the heavens have at any time, a dark and gloomy look, for there is conſtantly a chearful grey ſky, juſt ſufficient to ſcreen the ſun, and to mitigate the violence of its penpendicular rays, without obſcuring the air, or tinging the day-light with an unpleaſant or melancholy hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exerciſe abroad, nor is there wanting that refreſhment and pleaſing refrigeration of the air which is ſometimes produced in other climates by rains: for here the ſame effects are brought

about by the freſh breezes from the cooler regions to the ſouthward. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of thoſe vaſt hills called the Andes which running nearly parallel to the ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance from it, and extending themſelves immenſely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their ſides and declivities a prodigious tract of country where, according to the different approaches to the ſummit, all kinds of climates may, at all ſeaſons of the year be found. Theſe mountains by intercepting great part of the eaſtern winds, which generally blow over the continent of South America, and by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over their tops, and by keeping, beſides, a large part of the atmoſphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the ſnows with which they are covered; theſe hills, thus ſpreading the influences of their frozen creſts to the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas of Peru, are doubtleſs the cauſe of the temperature and equability which conſtantly prevail there. For when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where theſe mountains left us, and had nothing to ſcreen us to the eaſtward, but the high lands on the iſthmus of Panama, which are but molehills to the Andes, we ſoon found, that in a ſhort run, we had totally changed our climate, paſſing, in two or three days, from the temperate air of Peru, to the ſultry burning atmoſphere of the Weſt-Indies. But it is time to return to our narration:

On the 10th of November, we were three leagues ſouth of the ſouthermoſt iſland of Lobos, lying in the latitude of 60: 27 ſouth. There are two iſlands of this name: this called Lobos de la Mar; and another, which is ſituated to the northward of it, very much reſembling it in ſhape and appearance, and of-

ten, miſtaken for it, called Lobos de Tierra. We were now drawing near to the ſtation appointed to the Glouceſter, for which reaſon, fearing to miſs her, we made an eaſy ſail all night. The next morning at day-break, we ſaw a ſhip in ſhore, and to windward, plying up the coaſt. She had paſſed by us with the favour of the night, and we ſoon perceived her not to be the Glouceſter, got our tacks on board and gave her chaſe: but it proving very little wind, ſo that neither of us could make much way, the Commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the Tryal's pinnace, to be manned and armed, and to purſue the chaſe, and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her firſt, about nine o'clock, and running along ſide of her, he fired volley of ſmall ſhot between the maſts, juſt over the heads of the people on board, and then inſtantly entered with the greateſt part of his men; but the enemy made no reſiſtance, being ſufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlaſſes, and the volley they had juſt received. Lieutenant Brett ordered the ſails to be trimmed, and bore down to the Commodore, taking up, in his way, the two pinnaces. When he was got within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the priſoners, who had given him ſome material intelligence, which he was deſirous the Commodore ſhould be acquainaed with as ſoon as poſſible. On his arrival we learned, that the prize was called Neuſtra Senora del Carmin, of about two hundred and ſeventy tons burden: ſhe was commanded by Marcos Morena, a native of Venice, and had on board forty-three mariners: ſhe was deep laden with ſteel, iron, wax, pepper, cedar-plank, ſnuff, roſarios, European bale-goods, powder-blue, cinnamon, Romiſh indulgences, and other ſpecies of merchandiſe: and though this cargo, in our preſent circumſtances, was but of

little value to us, yet, with reſpect to the Spaniards, it was the moſt conſiderable capture we had made in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime coaſt at Panama. This ſhip was bound to Callao, and had ſtopped at Paita in her paſſage, to take in a recruit of water and proviſions, having left that place not about twenty-four hours before ſhe fell into our hands.

I have mentioned, that Mr Brett had received ſome imporaant intelligence, which he endeavoured to let the Commodore know immediately. The firſt perſon he learned it from (though upon further examination, it was confirmed by the other priſoners) was one John Williams, an Iriſhman, whom we found on board the Spaniſh veſſel. Williams was a Papiſt, who worked his paſſage from Cadiz, and had travelled over all the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar. He pretended, that, by his buſineſs, he had once got 4000 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarraſſed by the prieſts, who knew he had money, and was at laſt ſtripped of every thing he had. He was indeed at preſent all in rags, being but juſt got out of Paita goal, where he had been confined for ſome miſdemeanour: he expreſſed great joy upon ſeeing his countrymen, and immediately told them, that, a few days before, a veſſel came into Paita, when the maſter of her informed the governor, that he had been chaced in the offing by a very large ſhip, which, from her ſize, and the colour of her ſails, he was perſuaded muſt be one of the Engliſh ſquadron; this we then conjectured to have been the Glouceſter, as we afterwards found it was. The governor, upon examining the maſter, was fully ſatisfied of his relation, and immediately ſent away an expreſs to Lima, to acquaint the viceroy therewith: and the royal officer reſiding at Paita, apprehenſive of a viſit from the Engliſh, had, from his firſt hearing of this news, been buſily employed in

removing the king's treaſure and his own to Piura, a town within land, about fourteen leagues diſtant. We further learned, from our priſoners, that there was a very conſiderable ſum of money, belonging to ſome merchants of Lima, that was now lodged in the cuſtom-houſe at Paita, and that this was intended to be ſhipped on board a veſſel which was then in the port of Paita, and was preparing to ſail with the utmoſt expedition, being bound for the bay of Sonſonnate, on the coaſt of Mexico, in order to purchaſe a part of the cargo of the Manila ſhip. As the veſſel on which the money was to be ſhipped, was eſteemed a prime ſailor, and had juſt received a new coat of tallow on her bottom, and might, in the opinion of the priſoners, be able to ſail the ſucceeding morning, the character they gave of her gave us little reaſon to believe, that our ſhip, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once ſuffered her to eſcape out of the port: Therefore, as we were now diſcovered, and the coaſt would be ſoon alarmed, and as our cruiſing in theſe parts any longer would anſwer no purpoſe, the Commodore reſolved to endeavour to ſurpriſe the place, having firſt minutely informed himſelf of its ſtrength and condition, and being fully ſatisfied that there was little danger of loſing many men in the attempt. This attack on Paita, beſides the treaſure it promiſed us, and its being the only enterpriſe it was in our power to undertake, had theſe other advantages attending it, that we ſhould in all probability, ſupply ourſelves with great quantities of live proviſion, of which we were at this time in great want; and that we ſhould likewiſe have an opportunity of ſetting our priſoners on ſhore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater conſumption of our food than our ſtock that remained was capable of furniſhing

long. In all theſe lights the attempt was a moſt eligible one, and what our neceſſities, our ſituation, and every prudential conſideration, prompted us to. How it ſucceeded, and how far it anſwered our expectations, ſhall be the ſubject of the following chapter.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.